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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1476

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ALBANIA

NESTI NASE RECEIVES NEW BURUNDI ENVOY

Tirana ATA in English 1603 GMT 12 Nov 77 LD

[Text] Tirana, 12 Nov (ATA--Today, the foreign minister of the PSR of Albania, Nesti Nase, received the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Burundi Lidere Ndadakvaje, concerning the presentation of the credentials soon to the president of the presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania.

CSO: 2020

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

SCIENTIST CALLS FOR CALM--Ekaterina Grigorova, leader of the seismological section of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Geophysical Institute declared: "On the basis of the observations of the earthquakes in the area it has been established that the strong tremor, which appears suddenly, is followed by weaker tremors whose number depends on the released energy of the first tremor. All rumors on upcoming (?earthquakes) are groundless from a scientific point of view. We call upon the Velingrad citizens to remain calm, and to not give in to groundless rumors which can only sow fear and panic" [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Nov 77 AU]

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ DAILY REPORTS FOREIGN MINISTER'S ASSEMBLY STATEMENT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Oct 77 p 3 AU

[Report on Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek's speech to the Federal Assembly:
"The CSSR Is a Firm Component of the Socialist Community"]

[Text] I come before you, the representatives of our people in the supreme representative body of the CSSR, to submit to you, 2 years after the last report, the balance sheet of how we are implementing the tasks which the 15th CPCZ Congress stipulated for Czechoslovak foreign policy.

The positive results in international political activity were possible only as a result of the purposeful efforts of our working people, the workers, farmers and the intelligentsia, under the wise leadership of our party, which is devoting daily attention to our foreign policy. Our country is a firm component of the international socialist system, of the main motive force of contemporary international relations, based on the first country of socialism--the mighty Soviet Union.

With the emergence of the USSR and, later on, the entire socialist community, a force has appeared in the international arena which has consistently rejected war as a means for the implementation of political aims, a force which for the first time has raised negotiations to the level of a principle and the one and only means for peacefully settling disputes and achieving understanding among the nations. The communist parties have set for themselves the noble aim of eliminating war from the life of the human society, and they have embodied this principle in the program of state policy and established an immediate context between the idea of peace and the idea of social progress.

Because of the activity of the reactionary forces in the world, the armament race continues. Expenditure on the manufacture of arms on our globe is such that in the very course of my report another \$60 million will have been added to the account of the armament business. The admirals of the military-industrial complexes are preparing new, yet more refined and horrible, means of mass destruction.

That is why we warmly welcome and support the new significant Soviet initiative expressed primarily in the draft documents submitted to the current session of the UN General Assembly--the declaration on intensifying and strengthening international detente and the resolution on averting the threat of nuclear war, as well as the other significant ideas contained in Comrade Gromyko's speech.

Unity and Cooperation of the Fraternal Countries

The countries of the socialist community have become the basic stabilizing factor of international relations. Their unity, their fruitful fraternal cooperation and their successful internal development are the core of the successful continuation of the positive processes in international relations.

Therefore, the 25th CPSU and the 15th CPCZ Congresses and the congresses of the other fraternal communist parties put in the first place the demand to strengthen further the unity of the socialist community and its development. In implementing this line, Czechoslovak foreign policy has always proceeded from the view that unity of the countries of the socialist community and intensification of the fraternal relations among them on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, in the spirit of genuine equal rights, with the preservation of national and international interests, constitute the key factor of their dynamic development and also of the progressive development of the entire international socialist system.

The historical period since our fatherland's liberation by the Soviet Army, the period of building socialism in our country, has irrefutably verified that for the nations of Czechoslovakia there cannot be either liberty and independence or socialism without the closest fraternal bond with the Soviet Union. Therefore, it was also stressed from the tribune of the 15th CPCZ Congress that the chief and unchangeable task of Czechoslovak foreign policy is the continuous strengthening of the fraternal friendship, alliance and all-out cooperation with the Soviet Union on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, fraternal mutual assistance, support and combat solidarity.

The economic relations and the scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union constitute the most significant component of the Czechoslovak national economy's international economic relations, and they exert a permanent influence on the development of the Czechoslovak national economy.

Also the cooperation with the other fraternal countries of the socialist community has significantly intensified.

By now the regular meetings of the supreme representatives of the socialist countries are the most significant form of dynamizing the development of

all-out cooperation, and the documents adopted at these meetings demonstrate the unity and solidarity of the member states of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

In our relations with the Polish People's Republic, cooperation between the two countries has further developed in all the fields of political, economic and cultural life. They culminated in the official friendly visit by a party-state delegation of the Polish People's Republic to Czechoslovakia at the beginning of last July. The further intensification of cooperation was also aided by the working visits of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the foreign minister of the Polish People's Republic to the CSSR.

Our relations with the GDR have dynamically developed in all sectors. This fully corresponds to the line stipulated by the 15th CPCZ and the 9th SED congress. This was also confirmed by the recent talks between party-state delegations of the CSSR and the GDR.

Our relations with the Hungarian People's Republic are developing successfully. The results of the talks by a CSSR party-state delegation in the Hungarian People's Republic last September was significant impetus for further development of mutual relations. This visit became a manifestation of the unshakeable friendship of the nations of our two countries. Also the talks at head-of-government and foreign-minister level were useful and profitable.

Also our relations with the Bulgarian People's Republic are developing in all respects. They proceed from the two countries' identical viewpoints on all fundamental political questions. A rich range of relations in the fields of culture, education and health, the development of tourist trade and broad economic and scientific-technical cooperation are creating mutually advantageous prerequisites for further intensifying and strengthening the friendship between the nations of the two countries.

Bilateral relations with the Socialist Republic of Romania are developing well. This was confirmed by the visit of our party-state delegation at summit level last June. In the course of this visit a total of six agreements and treaty protocols were signed on further development of economic relations and cooperation in the engineering and chemical industry fields. Also the negotiations with the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania during his official visit to the CSSR were successful.

Following the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and the Mongolian People's Republic in 1973, mutual relations have successfully developed in all fields. We have further progressed in the contractual arrangement of the relations between our two countries by concluding new treaties which are helping to expand the mutually beneficial cooperation between our countries.

Our fraternal relations with the Republic of Cuba have further expanded and intensified in all fields. They are based on the firm friendship, alliance and comprehensive cooperation of the CSSR and Cuba with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. Cuba's international position now is more firm than ever before.

We are developing a fruitful and mutually beneficial cooperation also with the SFRY. We can state that it encompasses an ever broader range of questions both in the political and economic field and also in the sector of culture, science and education.

The conditions of the peaceful building of a united Vietnam create broad possibilities for developing comprehensive comradely cooperation between the CSSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. We are following with profound sympathy and, in keeping with our capacity, we help in every respect the successful efforts by the 50 million people of Vietnam to eliminate the consequences of the protracted war and to build socialism.

In the same spirit also our relations with the people's Democratic Republic of Laos and the DPRK are successfully developing and we are following with interest the further developments in Democratic Cambodia.

In our relations with the PRC we continue to proceed from the principles of equal rights, respect for sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs and we are ready, as was stated by the 15th CPCZ Congress, to normalize our state relations with this great country in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Alliance With the Fighting Nations

Guided by the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress which enjoined us to actively support the nations' struggle for liberty, independence and economic and social progress, we have systematically expanded our bilateral relations and mutually beneficial cooperation with the developing countries.

We fully support their efforts to strengthen their political and economic independence. This has undoubtedly been significantly aided by the mutual visits by leading representatives of our states.

Czechoslovak economic relations with the developing countries include, besides simple goods exchange, a broad range of economic, scientific and technical cooperation. In a number of these countries 293 of our specialists and experts are working. The CSSR is also supplying these countries with assistance in educating and training cadres for new industrial and other branches.

In intensifying our economic relations with the developing countries we try to create long-term mutually beneficial relations and to expand scientific-technical cooperation designed to develop the productive forces of these countries, while at the same time certain of our own requirements are being safeguarded. Thus a new type of economic cooperation is being created between the socialist and the developing countries. It is a type of cooperation which cannot be created by any capitalist state. It stems from our natural alliance with the nations fighting for a better social and societal organization of the world.

We are devoting constant attention to the situation in the Middle East. We condemn the imperialist intrigues and the aggressive policy of Israel which constitute grave obstacles to a peaceful settlement in this area.

Our relations with the progressive Arab states are developing on a broad basis. The continuously intensifying of political, economic and other contacts and the mutual cooperation expressing the interest of both sides impart a new quality to these relations.

We are devoting constant attention to the national liberation struggle under way in Africa. We support the progressive and anti-imperialist forces conducting this struggle. A great upsurge in this continent was recorded in our relations with countries of a socialist orientation.

The states of Latin America are evincing increasing interest in developing relations with the countries of the socialist community. In Venezuela we recently learned from personal experience in all fields, beginning with trade and culture and ending with science and technology, about the possibilities for a profitable development of mutually beneficial cooperation, and similar possibilities have also appeared in Costa Rica and Panama.

We will continue to actively support in all respects the Chilean people's legitimate struggle against the fascist dictatorship and for the liberation of all imprisoned Chilean patriots.

Peaceful Coexistence, the Norm of Relations

Regarding our relations with the capitalist countries, we made unceasing efforts--as the 15th Congress of our party enjoined us--to further develop mutually beneficial cooperation on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. We made efforts to make the principles of the Helsinki Final Document become the norm of international relations in Europe and to promote the development of cooperation in all fields with full respect for the customs and traditions of each country and with strict observation of the principle of noninterference in internal affairs.

Evaluating the period of over 2 years which has elapsed since the signing of the final document, we can state that political, economic and other

relations and contacts among the participating states have become more active. In our view it is a basic political fact that, despite the reactionary propaganda wave characterized by anticommunist hysteria and ideological subversion, the Western countries' official policy continues to subscribe to the Helsinki Final Document. This has also been confirmed by the general debate at the Belgrade meeting of representatives of the signatories of this document.

Unfortunately we see that the representatives of certain countries at the Belgrade meeting, and not only there, are trying to narrow the interpretation of the final document in an arbitrary way and to use this as a basis for meddling in our internal affairs. At the same time, as was clearly indicated by the letter and spirit of the final document, the principle of noninterference in internal affairs must be understood comprehensively. Therefore, we categorically reject the efforts to interpret it in a narrow, restricted and distorted way.

After Helsinki the number of meetings of leading Czechoslovak political and state representatives with representatives of Western participants in the conference has increased. Czechoslovakia has actively joined in the system of political consultations in the spirit of the Helsinki agreements. Since the signing of the final document over 20 meetings with capitalist countries at a high political level have taken place. We have concluded over 40 significant bilateral agreements with capitalist states in the political, economic and cultural fields. We have established diplomatic relations with Spain and have resumed diplomatic relations with Ireland.

In developing our bilateral relations with the capitalist states we naturally devote the greatest attention to our closest Western neighbors--the FRG and Austria.

In the spirit of the treaty on mutual relations we want to develop normal relations and cooperation with the FRG while mutually respecting the differences of the social systems and not interfering in internal affairs. We endeavor to intensify relations in the political, economic and cultural sphere and, on our part, we do not and will not raise obstacles so that these relations may further expand.

We thus create the conditions for truly goodneighborly relations between our two countries based on equal rights and mutual benefit. This requires the creation of a favorable atmosphere in which there can be no room for attempts by the FRG reactionary forces to sow distrust and hostility between our nations. We believe that our mutual relations in all fields will successfully develop and that their level will rise.

As far as West Berlin is concerned, we favor developing relations in all respects on the basis of strict observation of the quadripartite agreement of 3 September 1971. However, we reject as a matter of principle any attempts to upset the special statute of West Berlin.

We also apply the policy of goodneighborly relations to our southern neighbor--the Austrian Republic. The development of mutual relations in all fields following the signing of the treaty on the settlement of open financial and ownership questions has confirmed that this course benefits not only our two states but that it positively influenced also the strengthening of peace in Europe.

I note that the prerequisites are being created for our mutual relations, which unfortunately were disturbed by certain thoughtless acts in Austria in the first half of the current year, to again develop in a positive way.

The CSSR is constantly interested in goodneighborly relations with the Austrian Republic on the basis of equality, mutual respect and noninterference. On the Czechoslovak side there has never been any lack of evidence of good will in this respect.

We have always attributed special significance to the development of our relations with France. We consider it a particularly positive fact that the talks and political consultations with France are aimed at comprehensive application of the final document in our mutual relations. Despite the results achieved we think that there exist on both sides sufficient unutilized possibilities to intensify Czechoslovak-French relations and raise their level.

Czechoslovak-Finnish relations constitute an example of the bilateral positive utilization of opportunities. We appreciate the realistic and constructive attitude of the Finnish representatives toward implementation of the policy of lessening tension, of peaceful cooperation and safeguarding security in Europe.

Also, our relations with Turkey are developing successfully.

We also recorded a favorable development of mutual relations with Denmark and Iceland.

Belgium is among the countries with which we are progressing positively in mutual relations.

A noticeable improvement has been achieved in our relations with Greece.

We support the independent policy of the Republic of Cyprus and we favor solving the question of Cyprus on the basis of preserving its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and nonalignment.

In our relations with Holland, Sweden and Norway we are prepared to fully support the development of these relations, all the more so since our contacts are successfully developing particularly in the sphere of economic cooperation.

In relations with Great Britain we are prepared to develop these relations in every respect for mutual benefit. Our good will was also manifested in the official visit by the CSSR minister of foreign affairs to Great Britain last September. However, the materialization of these plans does not depend on us alone.

We strove to establish the best possible atmosphere in relations with Portugal; after an almost 40-year break we established full diplomatic relations with Spain; we attribute great significance to Czechoslovakia's relations with Italy.

Our relations with Canada have registered a certain upsurge.

Japan is our significant partner in the sphere of scientific-technical cooperation. We are striving to establish the most favorable conditions for the greatest possible utilization of the existing possibilities of constantly expanding mutual trade. We expect the political relations to constantly develop, also.

In spite of all our good will, normal contacts have not been achieved with the United States. Apart from other things, this is also the consequence of the attempts by certain U.S. officials to interfere in our internal affairs.

During the last 2 years a certain improvement of mutual relations occurred only in certain marginal spheres. As I mentioned at this forum this July, the basic obstacle to more broadly developing mutually advantageous contacts on the basis of equal rights has not yet been eliminated. The United States is still holding the Czechoslovak currency gold, blocking the final solution of the entire complex of the problems of property rights and practicing discrimination in mutual trade relations. The CSSR is interested in normalizing relations with the United States. But it depends primarily on the United States to achieve a mutually acceptable solution to the controversial questions.

We want to develop also in the future our bilateral relations with states with different social systems. We proceed from the fact that lively, constructive, bilateral relations are an inseparable and irreplaceable component of the overall system of international relations and an effective means of intensifying international understanding and trust, of solving international problems and achieving detente.

To Adopt Concrete Disarmament Measures

Positive experience has been achieved in the atmosphere of detente also in the sphere of economic cooperation. However, we still encounter a whole series of various restrictions among some of our partners, restrictions making our exports either more difficult or even impossible. However, on the whole it can be said that we are cooperating with the states

with different social systems in a number of spheres, on the basis of mutual advantage. This is proved, among other things, also by the fact that 32 significant capitalist firms have already opened permanent representations in our country.

The positive changes in political developments in Europe have also established conditions for intensifying cooperation between CEMA and the EEC. The conclusion of an agreement between these two largest groupings in the world would make it possible to develop economic cooperation between the individual states of the two communities on a new basis--and that means also between the CSSR and the individual EEC member countries.

We are doing everything to concretize the USSR's proposal on all-European cooperation in environmental protection, in transportation and power engineering. We believe that all-European conferences on these spheres of problems would significantly contribute to implementing the Helsinki Final Document in the economic sphere.

The most pressing task at present is undisputably to stop the rising curve in expensive armaments and to adopt concrete disarmament measures. The safeguarding of a lasting and general peace, as well as the possibility of freeing enormous financial resources that could be used for other, more useful and more noble aims depends on the successful solution of this vitally important problem.

During the period from the end of World War II up to the present, all states of the world have spent roughly \$6 trillion for armament. According to the data supplied by the UN secretary general, in these past several years mankind has been spending more than \$300 billion annually for armament. These means could have been spent to ease poverty and suppress hunger in the world, to raise material prosperity and for social progress of many nations.

But the military budgets of the capitalist states have been increasing from year to year. At the NATO council's London session this spring the member countries of this grouping agreed to raise armament expenditures at least 3 percent and to accelerate the rearmament of their armies.

That is why we welcomed the achievement of certain progress and the drawing closer of stances in the SALT negotiations, which occurred during the latest visit by Comrade Gromyko, USSR minister of foreign affairs, to Washington. The successful conclusion of the SALT negotiations would be of extraordinary significance for mankind's destiny, all the more so since Soviet-American relations are playing a key role in insuring world peace.

Czechoslovakia together with the other fraternal socialist countries is promoting the complete liquidation of all nuclear arsenals. We most

emphatically reject the planned production of the so-called neutron bombs, this modern "invention of destruction" against which the worldwide broad public has justly raised its voice in indignant protest. For this very reason it is necessary to push through adoption of the Soviet Union's proposal for an overall ban on development and production of new kinds of weapons of mass destruction and their systems, and to conclude an appropriate international agreement, the urgency of which is growing literally from day to day.

We believe that in the given situation suitable conditions for achieving of desirable progress would be established by a world disarmament conference which, with the participation of all states, would become a universal forum with the necessary authority. In the interests of a good preparation for this conference, we support the convening of a special UN General Assembly session next year, to deal with disarmament questions.

The negotiations on reducing the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe being held in Vienna concern us directly. On our part we are prepared, together with our socialist allies, to exert further efforts to work out an agreement that would be acceptable to everybody. We think that it is possible to reach such an agreement if all participants follow the adopted principle not to impair the security of any side.

Czechoslovak Foreign Policy Activities

Our active work in the UN has recently found appreciation in the fact that yesterday Czechoslovakia was elected a nonpermanent member of the Security Council for the years 1978-79--a member of the body which, as the only main UN body, has key tasks and decisive authority in the sphere of responsibility for maintaining world peace and security, for the peaceful solution of conflicts, as well as for classifying actions in instances of a threat to peace, the violation of peace and aggressive acts.

In the sum total of the actions undertaken by Czechoslovakia on the international stage, a significant and responsible place belongs to the CSSR Federal Assembly's initiative. The Federal Assembly's declarations on important questions of foreign policy, the multifaceted activities of its Presidium, foreign committees and parliamentary groups, the visits, negotiations and exchanges of delegations--all this is substantially enriching our state's foreign political efforts.

The CSSR has expanded diplomatic relations during the past 2 years to a further 16 states. While in 1975 we maintained diplomatic relations with 105 states, at present their number has increased to 121. Our interests abroad are actively promoted by 81 representative offices and 16 consulates. In Prague we have 59 foreign diplomatic offices. During the past 2 years alone five new offices have been opened here.

Since 1976 we have concluded a further 303 bilateral international treaties and agreements. Up to the present date the CSSR's signature can be found on 1942 international treaties and agreements; this alone is also one of the measures of the CSSR's present position in the world.

Czechoslovakia is a member of 60 international governmental and 1,200 non-governmental organizations. The Federal Assembly's deputies and representatives are familiar with the multifaceted activities of the Czechoslovak Association for International Contacts, particularly in developing fruitful cooperation with the associations of the friends of the CSSR in 34 nonsocialist states and in actively aiding friendship contacts between 52 Czechoslovak cities and districts and their partners in various countries of the world. Because of this activity the objective truth about our socialist fatherland is reaching the broad public in many countries of the world.

An important part of Czechoslovak foreign policy is our cultural contacts abroad. Since 1969 their volume has increased by 30 percent--in 1976 almost 100,000 persons were sent out and received within the framework of exchanges in the sphere of culture, education, science and health. Of these, 27 percent were within the exchange with capitalist countries. At present the CSSR has cultural contacts regulated by agreements, exchange plans and programs with 123 countries.

The rising curve of tourism incontrovertibly indicates the interest in our country abroad. For instance, in 1970 Czechoslovakia was visited by 2.8 million tourists from the socialist countries and 730,000 from other states, and in 1976 it was visited by more than 16 million citizens of socialist countries and almost 1 million tourists from the capitalist countries.

As regards the extent of our citizens information about world events, this information is both objective and comprehensive due to the activities of our communications media and cultural institutions. We import from the Western countries a relatively extensive variety of publications, audio-visual information, books, theater plays, films and television and radio programs. On the average we import, for instance, 14,000 editions published in the West, including political, professional, cultural, sports publications and fashions. On the other hand the capitalist states buy 20 times fewer Czechoslovak periodicals. We export one film for every 10 imported and shown Western films. A similar situation exists with television programs. During the last 5 years, for instance, 200 French books and 400 English or American books have been translated in the CSSR. During the same period 1-3 books were annually translated from Czech and Slovak in the capitalist states. The situation is similar in the sphere of music and drama and the exchange of ensembles; and we could continue this list.

The growing interest in Czechoslovakia abroad is testified to by the fact that about 7,000 foreign journalists visit us annually; almost 3,000 of them come from nonsocialist countries. Apart from that, about 100 accredited journalists are working in the CSSR; they represent the largest world press agencies or television or radio companies. All this data strikingly testifies to the consistent way the CSSR is fulfilling the stipulations of the Helsinki Conference Final Document.

It is most encouraging for us that thousands of comrades, CPCZ members of the CSSR Government and the governments of the Czech and Slovak socialist republics, Federal Assembly deputies and other bodies and organizations are directly or indirectly actively participating by their work in the complicated, responsible actions of our country's foreign policy. This is a reliable guarantee that our foreign policy--an active and creative participant in the historical struggle for peace and security of the peoples--will fulfill also in the coming period, in unbreakable alliance with the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries of the socialist community, its great and noble mission: to be the support of socialism, peace and security.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVAKIA'S COLOTKA DEALS WITH NATIONALITY QUESTION

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Oct 77 pp 3, 4 AU

[Article by Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Slovak government: "Equality, Cooperation and Brotherhood--the Leninist Solution of the Nationality Question in the CSSR"]

[Text] The Great October Socialist Revolution, whose 60th anniversary is being commemorated, along with the peoples of the Soviet Union, by progressive people all over the world, is an important milestone in the history of mankind. The October marked the beginning of a new historical epoch--that of the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, to complete liberation from exploitation, and to destruction of imperialism which causes wars, social and national oppression, poverty and sufferings for the millions. The victorious ideas of the Great October and the example of the world's first socialist state have given a powerful impetus to the struggle waged by the working people on all continents for freedom and social progress. The practical materialization of the right of nations to self-determination in the country of the soviets has become a powerful impulse in the struggle conducted by oppressed peoples against colonialism and for independence and free development.

The October has been a beacon for progressive mankind for 6 decades, and the Soviet Union--bulwark of the revolutionary forces and a brilliant example for all those who strive for social justice, freedom and equality among peoples, and for peace and happiness.

The Soviet people paved a path to a new social system. Under the Leninist party's guidance, the Russian proletariat broke the power of the bourgeoisie and landlords and formed a state of the working people, and on the principles of equality among nations built a fraternal family of peoples. Under the difficult conditions of capitalist blockade the Soviet people, guided by the ideas of the Great October, carried out an extensive program for socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture and cultural revolution. The socialist social system proved to be viable and unbreakable in the hard trial that followed the treacherous invasion by fascist Germany. In the Great Fatherland War the peoples of the Soviet Union defended with

unparalleled heroism the freedom of their socialist motherland and decisively contributed to the defeat of hitlerite fascism, to the deliverance of mankind from the fascist yoke. The Soviet people have won worldwide admiration and acknowledgment with their courage and selflessness in restoring their country, destroyed during the war, with their enormous successes in developing the economy, science, education and culture, in implementing a program for building a developed socialist society, and in the construction of communism.

While consistently pursuing the Leninist nationality policy and exerting efforts to make all nations prosper and to bring them closer together, the Soviet Union has set for the whole world an example of a successful settlement of the nationality question. In contrast to the world of capital, the world of imperialist aggression, colonialism, the exploitation and oppression of nations, this convincingly proves the socialist revolution to be the main requisite to eliminate inequality among nations. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which proclaimed the abolishment of the exploitation of man by man and sanctioned the principle of proletarian internationalism, has provided, in the interests of the triumph of socialism, conditions for a "voluntary union of nations... a union based on the fullest confidence and on the clear consciousness of fraternal unity..." (V.I. Lenin, a letter to the Ukraine's workers and peasants, "COMPLETE COLLECTION OF WORKS," volume 40, p 43).

The attractiveness and the inspiring vigor of the Great October ideas, as well as the correctness of the Leninist nationality policy have also been fully confirmed in the historical development of other countries, primarily of the countries that, following the world historic victories won by the Soviet Union in the Great Fatherland War, have entered the path of socialist construction. The emergence and consolidation of a worldwide socialist system provides evidence of the universal internationalist nature of Leninism and of Lenin's teaching about the fundamental laws of the socialist revolution. We take pride in the fact that also our state, the CSSR, whose formation, as well as the liberation of our peoples and their all-round socialist development, are closely linked with the Great October Socialist Revolution, with its ideas and effects, with the existence, example and assistance of the fraternal Soviet Union, that this state belongs to the great family of the socialist countries.

As recently as 60 years ago the right of the Czechs and Slovaks to a statehood of their own was denied. The situation of the Slovaks was particularly difficult. Their very national existence was endangered in Austro Hungary, that notorious prison of nations. The ruling circles of feudalists and capitalists pursued the policy of cruel social oppression which increased national inequality even more. The emergence of the Czechoslovak state in 1918 contributed to the preservation of the Slovaks as a nation. The decay and downfall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy were accelerated under the revolutionary pressure of the masses stirred to the struggle by the example set by proletarian Russia and the victorious October, and by the ideas of peace, social justice and the right of nations to self-determination proclaimed by the October.

From the point of view of the national existence of the Slovaks, the emergence of the Czechoslovak state signified an indisputable step forward, particularly in the field of education and culture; but it did not settle fundamental problems, such as the social status of the workers and peasants, economic development and the political and legal status of Slovakia. The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie which, having put down the revolutionary movement of the working people, consolidated its class power in 1920, was unable to solve the nationality problem. The "Slovak problem" initiated in Czechoslovakia two extremely anti-people movements.

On the one hand, the so-called policy of Czechoslovakism, denying the identity [samobytnost] of the Slovak people, served the predatory interests of the stronger Czech bourgeoisie, which benefited by keeping Slovakia in the status of an agrarian and raw-material supplement to the more developed Czech districts, a source of cheap manpower. In the whole period of the existence of the bourgeois state Slovakia actually was a "dark corner" in Central Europe, a land with underdeveloped industry and lagging agriculture, a land of unemployment and mass emigration.

Frantic nationalism, which eventually degenerated into clerical fascism, constituted the second extreme trend. It was professed by that part of the Slovak bourgeoisie that disguised its selfish class interests with the national colors, disseminated national hostility and hatred with regard to the Czech people, and then without hesitation went to work for Hitler and contributed to the partitioning of Czechoslovakia.

Because of its orientation on the Western so-called allies, the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie proved to be unable to defend the integrity and independence of the Czechoslovak state. During the tragic Munich days it ignominiously capitulated, guided only by the preoccupation to preserve its class interests.

The CPCZ was the only force showing the working people of Czechoslovakia, its nations and nationalities, the real path to the settlement of social and nationality problems. Formed under the influence of the revolutionary ideas of the Great October, and following the example set by Soviet communists, at its Fifth Congress in 1929, it adopted the Leninist principles of the revolutionary struggle. Aware that the nationality question, unsolved under bourgeois rule, was, to the detriment of our nations, turning into an object of abuse on the part of false friends of the people, the CPCZ at the all-Slovak conference in 1937 adopted a plan for the economic, social and cultural development of Slovakia. But this bold program could have been put into effect and its goals materialized only after our fatherland's liberation by the Soviet Army. This occurred when the CPCZ, owing to its determined struggle against foreign and domestic fascism, turned into a leading force in our society and, with the support of the people's masses, set about our country's socialist transformation.

A significant landmark in the Marxist-Leninist solution of the nationality problem was dotted by the Slovak national uprising, in which the Slovak people, who rose to fight with weapon in hand, manifested their desire to be,

along with the fraternal Czech people, in the new Czechoslovak republic built on the principles of social justice and equality among nations. This Marxist-Leninist line found support in the Moscow leadership of the CPCZ with comrades Klement Gottwald, Jan Sverma and others. In the ranks of the Slovak resistance the same line was consistently defended by the members of the fifth illegal Slovak CP Central Committee, comrades Karol Smidke, Gustav Husam and Ladislav Novomesky, who spearheaded the uprising.

In the same spirit of proletarian internationalism, the nationality question, as a part of the struggle for socialism, was handled after our fatherland's liberation by the Soviet Army, and after the triumphant February 1948. The principle of equality between the Czechs and the Slovak was sanctioned in the Kosice governmental program and began to be implemented in the process of the people's democratic revolution. The Soviet example has shown us--and our Czechoslovak reality fully confirmed this--that real equality among nations, their full development, cooperation and drawing them closer together were achievable only after the victory of the socialist revolution, in the process of the socialist reform of society. It has also been confirmed that the workers class led by the Communist Party was the guarantor of achieving equality, a motive force in cooperation among nations and in bringing them closer together.

In the same way as the workers class and the working people of more developed republics, in the period of building socialism in the Soviet Union, selflessly and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism helped build industry, agriculture, education, science and health services in borderlands and in formerly backward districts, the Czech workers class and the fraternal Czech people, under our conditions, helped overcome the backwardness and poverty in Slovakia. In the 3 decades of socialist development we covered a path equal to centuries. All Czechoslovakia, its economy, education, science and culture have vigorously developed in the epoch of socialism, and as far as Slovakia is concerned, socialism has provided it with wings, although the apologist of the bourgeoisie asserted that it lacked conditions for modern development. Thus, compared with 1937, the volume of industrial production in the country as a whole increased tenfold, and in Slovakia alone, 39 times. Slovak industry is now supplying as much production in 8 days as it supplied in the entire year 1937. A significant increase in farm production and improvements in the working and living conditions of the rural population have resulted from collectivization and from the creative application of the Leninist plan for cooperation. The number of higher educational establishments in our republic has increased more than 21 times. Under capitalism, Slovakia had not even one single scientific-research establishment. At present more than 40,000 workers are engaged in scientific research. The development of culture, health services and social insurance has acquired large proportions, and the lifestyles of the millions of the working people have radically changed.

Slovakia has become an all-round developed component part of the CSSR.

In the process of shaping, socialist nations both achieve their all-round development, and draw closer together. To make these two trends as manifest as possible and to consolidate the unity of the socialist republic, the Czechoslovak state has now been built on the federal principles. The right of nations to self-determination in the political and legal sphere has been manifested in the formation of two national republics--the Czech and the Slovak socialist republics. The Czechoslovak state, which reflects the will of our fraternal peoples to build their common socialist fatherland in unity and friendship, in their synthesis and a firm foundation for development.

Also the lives of the other nationalities inhabiting the CSSR have been developing on the principles of proletarian internationalism and in the spirit of fraternal friendship and cooperation. Along with the Czech and the Slovak working people the citizens of the Hungarian, Ukrainian and Polish nationalities take an active part in economic and social development, in state administration, and have all the conditions to improve their educational and cultural standards and to make all-round use of their energies.

Even the comparative short period of the existence of the federation gives us every ground to state that the federal politico-legal solution has fully justified itself and that, in the politico-legal sphere, this is the completion of the efforts exerted by the CPCZ in the consistent Marxist-Leninist settlement of the nationality question.

The 15th CPCZ Congress quite rightfully characterized the years since the 14th Congress as the most successful period in our socialist development. Assessing the achievements in the field of nationality policy, Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, said: "The level of unity and international brotherhood attained between the Czechs and the Slovaks, as well as among the other nationalities inhabiting our land, is one of the most remarkable achievements of our revolutionary workers movement, in the struggle waged by our party and people.... The substantial differences in the conditions of our peoples' economic, political and cultural lives and in various districts of the state have been overcome. Our peoples live harmoniously in their common home. They build their relations on the Leninist principles of equality and equal rights, and on the principles of proletarian internationalism."

We are pleased to say that the successes of socialist Czechoslovakia result from friendly cooperation between the fraternal nations of the Czechs and the Slovaks, as well as among the other nationalities. This confirms once again the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by the CPCZ. And we shall always bear in mind that this policy has been shaped under the influence of the October, on the basis of the fundamental Leninist thesis on the right of nations to self-determination, a thesis the viability of which has been confirmed in practice in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

We take pride in the fact--and this was emphasized in the CPCZ Central Committee decision on the 60th October anniversary--that also our motherland, the CSSR, as an integral component part of the family of the socialist

countries, follows the path opened for mankind by the Great October Socialist Revolution, and participates creditably in the struggle to furnish working man with authentic freedom and a worthy life.

Having passed hard historical tests, our peoples regard their participation in the worldwide socialist system as a firm guarantee of peaceful socialist development. The ideas of the October and Lenin's ideas of equal rights, cooperation and development, and at the same time of unity among socialist nations on the principle of proletarian internationalism, are being translated into reality in the entire socialist community. They are being materialized in the close economic and scientific-technical cooperation among CEMA member-states, in the common struggle waged by the socialist community for peace, security and cooperation among all peoples. The Czechoslovak people contribute to implementing these goals through their efforts to carry out the decisions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and their successes in building a developed socialist society.

Guidance on this path is provided in Marxist-Leninist teaching and in the revolutionary ideas of the Great October. The USSR is--as the new Soviet Constitution emphasizes--a multinational union state formed on the principle of socialist federalism, as a result of the free self-determination of nations and of the voluntary unification of equal Soviet republics, and as such it was, is and will always be our friend, ally and bulwark, as well as an example in building a new society, which also applies to the settlement of the nationality question.

On the occasion of the 60th Great October anniversary, the Czechoslovak people convey our Soviet comrades, brothers and friends warm congratulations and wish them new triumphs in the construction of communism.

CSO: 1800

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVAK PARTY SECRETARY COMMEMORATES OCTOBER JUBILEE

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Nov 77 p 1 AU

[Editorial article by Ludovit Pezlar, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee: "The Great October and the Present"]

[Excerpt] For a full 60 years the Soviet Union has headed the forces fighting for progress, socialism and peace. For this noble aim the Soviet people have made immense sacrifices. They now also carry on their shoulders the main burden of mankind's historical struggles for progress and they provide selfless assistance to all--to those who have undertaken to build a new social order and those who are fighting for their national and social liberation. The development of events in the past 60 years unequivocally confirmed that no truly revolutionary and progressive movement can exist which does not take into account the role played by the Soviet Union in the historical struggles of mankind for its liberation or which even would go against the Soviet Union. It is true now, too--more than ever before--that the touchstone for every genuine revolutionary is his attitude toward real socialism as the supreme achievement of the international revolutionary workers movement.

The past 60 years have fully confirmed the correctness of Lenin's thesis that each country embarking on the path of the socialist revolution contributes certain specifics to this historical process, specifics which depend on the concrete historical conditions. At the same time--Lenin argued--each future revolution will mirror substantial features of the Russian revolution. The experience of all the socialist countries has verified the validity of the general laws of socialist construction. It is on this very thesis that the class and ideological enemies of worldwide socialism concentrate their attacks. Just as there cannot exist general features of socialism without certain national specifics due to concrete historical conditions, there does not exist any "national" socialism in which the general laws of the latter's construction were not applied.

Also the change of tactics of the forces fighting socialism bears evidence to the strength and attractiveness of the ideas of Great October in the contem-

porary world. The capitalist social system has discredited itself to such an extent and has become so unpopular on our planet that now the attacks against worldwide socialism are not being conducted under the slogan of return to capitalism but under the guise of "improving" socialism. What a paradox: the ideologists of the bourgeoisie who 60 years ago proclaimed socialism to be unfeasible now ardently propagate and support a "Christian," "national," "democratic" socialism or "Eurocommunism." The present-day imperialist bourgeoisie is ready to support any sort of "socialism," provided, it is true, that they can use it as an instrument in fighting real socialism based on Leninist principles which in the past 60 years cogently proved its strength and viability.

In the multifaceted legacy of the Great October to the present, proletarian internationalism holds an exceptionally topical place. The life-giving strength of this key principle became apparent as early as in the days of the October Revolution, and the present fully confirms its topicality. The forms of demonstrating proletarian internationalism and its criteria have a historical character; they are developing and becoming modified concurrently with the development of the international revolutionary process according to the concrete conditions; however, the very principle of the international solidarity of the main currents of the worldwide revolutionary process has a durable nature because it expresses the general law of the class struggle throughout the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVAK 'PRAVDA' CARRIES EXCERPT FROM ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Oct 77 p 2 AU

[Excerpt from the CSSR Federal Assembly's Resolution]

[Text] I. The CSSR Federal Assembly:

--Discussed at the fifth joint meeting of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of People and the Chamber of the Nations CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek's report on the fundamental question of CSSR foreign policy and expresses its agreement with it;

--States that the CSSR foreign policy consistently abides by the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress, and participates with initiative in the implementation of the foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community, aimed at insuring favorable conditions for building socialism and communism, support for nations' struggle for national liberation and social progress, averting aggressive wars and at the consistent implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social system.

II. In connection with the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the CSSR Federal Assembly emphasizes that the fundamental role of Czechoslovak foreign policy is the continued strengthening of the alliance, friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism in accordance with the great goals determined by the 25th CPSU and the 15th CPCZ Congresses. The bonds of alliance and the cooperation with the Soviet Union are the guarantee of our national freedom, state independence, security, of the CSSR's international position and its further socialist prospects.

In the interest of the development of socialism and the defense of peace we regard it as inevitable to strengthen all-round cooperation with the countries of the socialist community. We value the fact that the political role of the Warsaw Pact states is increasing as has been attested to by the significant peace proposals of the Bucharest session of the Political Consultative Committee, which are preserving their lasting validity. CSSR foreign policy contributes to the implementation of the CEMA countries' program of socialist integration.

The CESC has become a historical event. Since the signing of the Final Document in Helsinki, the relations and contacts among countries which participated in this conference have been expanded and intensified. The CSSR, in accordance with the objectives of its foreign policy, has been consistently and comprehensively fulfilling all obligations stemming from the Final Document. This applies to the sphere of insuring security in Europe as well as to economic cooperation, exchange of cultural values, development of educational, scientific-technical and health relations, environmental information and humanitarian issues.

The CSSR will also in the future consistently fight for the principles of relations among states, anchored in the Helsinki Conference's Final Document, to become a binding norm for international relations in Europe. It will see to it that the cooperation among states with different social systems develops in all spheres. The basic condition for this is the respect for the laws, customs and traditions of all countries, the consistent observance of the principle of noninterference in internal affairs and mutual understanding of justified and inviolable interests of each of the participating countries. At the Belgrade meeting the Czechoslovak delegation abides by these principles in order to actively contribute to a constructive course of the meeting and to the further deepening of the process of understanding and mutual cooperation.

Our people and the entire world public are seriously concerned about the continuing arms race and the new efforts by the West to incite further production of still more destructive weapons. The Federal Assembly fully supports the opposition and protests of the Czechoslovak and world public against the plans by the U.S. militaristic circles and NATO to produce the neutron bomb. They fully support the new proposals submitted by the Soviet Union at the 32d UN General Assembly. The purpose of the proposal is to deepen and strengthen international detente and to avert the danger of nuclear war.

In accordance with the conviction of all Czechoslovak people, the Federal Assembly expresses its full support to the socialist countries' joint effort to halt and curtail armament and supports the negotiations between the USSR and the United States on the second agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons. It will continue to contribute to bringing about progress in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armament in central Europe and in the Geneva Disarmament Committee. One expects the UN special session on the disarmament question, which will be held next year, to become an important step in the preparation of a world conference on disarmament, which should adopt effective measures to eliminate the specter of global nuclear conflict and achieve universal and complete disarmament.

III. The Federal Assembly as the highest body of CSSR state power is directly participating in the great world struggle for peace. In recent years it intensified its international relations. There has been a considerable exchange of parliamentary delegations with a great number of

countries from all continents. We actively participate in international meetings of deputies, in regional conferences on specific topics and in all actions of the Interparliamentary Union. The traditional cooperation with the deputies of the socialist countries' legislative bodies is very close.

The Federal Assembly will continue to actively contribute to a systematic consolidation of the unity and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of the socialist community. It will assist in deepening relations with the developing countries and support the all-round consolidation of their independence. It will also assist in further development of comprehensive relations with the capitalist states on the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, mutual respect, sovereignty, noninterference and mutual benefit.

The Federal Assembly sincerely thanks our people for their selfless fulfillment of tasks in building the socialist fatherland. All our successes achieved in the development of the socialist society while implementing the 15th CPCZ Congress' resolutions are the most effective support for the progressive and peace-loving forces of the whole world in the common struggle for peace, social progress and friendship among nations.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LONDON JOURNAL PUBLISHES CZECH DOCUMENT ON SCHOOL

London THE GUARDIAN in English 3 Nov 77 p 8 LD

[Article by John Ezard: "The Politics of Czech Universities"]

[Text] What is confidently stated to be a secret Czech Ministry of Education directive spelling out how schoolleavers who conform to "class-political criteria" get preference in university selection has been published for the first time in the West, with an eye on the Belgrade talks.

The criteria are: whether their parents are Communist Party members; whether their parents resigned or were expelled from the party after the Prague Spring; and whether they belong to its youth wing, the Socialist Union of Youth.

It is reproduced in an article by Jan Sling, son of an ex-member of the Czech Communist Party Central Committee who was purged and executed in the Slansky trials. Mr Sling, who left his homeland in 1972, has just graduated from the London School of Economics. He now works as a librarian.

His article appears in "Broad Left," the journal of the communist tribune non-aligned socialist coalition which dominates the British National Union of Students executive.

He said the directive has been exposed by the Charter 77 movement: "There have been suspicions about the system for some time. But this document shows for the first time exactly how it works. "The directive and rules are secret and so they are placed beyond public control--which also decreases the chances of the majority of candidates.

Since only a minority of the population are party members, the directive would confer a great advantage on their children in the already harsh competition for the country's 113,000 university places. Politically acceptable pupils are given privilege over everyone else.

Mr Sling conceded that some people might think that this was necessary to promote a new working class intelligentsia. But after 30 years of socialism, the former ruling classes had lost their power and largely disappeared.

It is clear that this policy is being carried out not for reasons of the "class and political purity" of the education system--but solely to punish and coerce the present regime and revoke their past political "mistakes." Some 300,000 Czechs were expelled from the party after 1968, and several hundred thousand others resigned.

The press secretary of the Czechoslovak Embassy in London, Mr Jiri Novotny, was unavailable for comment yesterday. Mr Sling said that in his own judgment and from previous experience of Charter 77 papers, there was no doubt that the document, "an official directive for selection committees," was authentic.

It says each candidate should be classified in one of five alphabetical groups, in descending order of priority.

In Group A are candidates who "fulfill the class political criteria"; have an average overall matriculation and secondary school grade higher than 2, and passed an oral examination with honours and have a grade in mathematics higher than grade 4.

In Group B1 are candidates who also "fulfill the class political criteria": have an average overall matriculation and secondary school grade between 2 and 2.7; have an average result in the oral examination and a grade in mathematics not lower than 4.

In Group B2, candidates who "do not fulfill the class political criteria" appear for the first time. The academic results required from them are identical with those for Group A.

Group C1 is for students who fulfill the criteria but have an average overall matriculation and secondary school grade of between 2 and 2.7, and who have failed the oral exam and have a maths grade of 4.

The bottom group, C2, is for students who did not fulfill the criteria and have qualifications identical with C1. But they must have a school grade of more than 2.7.

CSO: 2020

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

GREETINGS TO ALGERIA--Prague, CTK--Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, sent Houari Boumediene, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and chairman of the republic's government, a congratulatory telegram on the occasion of his country's state holiday. On the same occasion Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, sent 'Abdelaziz Bouteflika, minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and member of the Revolutionary Council, a congratulatory telegram. The Central Trade Union Council also sent a congratulatory telegram to the General Union of Algerian Working People (UGTA). [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Nov 77 p 3 AU]

FRG LENIENCY ENCOURAGES AIR PIRACY--Bonn, 31 Oct CETEKA--The FRG Ministry of Justice announced today that it is studying the Czechoslovak request for the extradition of air pirates Vlastimil Toupalik and Ruzena Vlckova who had hijacked with arms in hand a Czechoslovak plane to Frankfurt Am/Main on 11 October. They are now held in custody in Frankfurt on accusations of threatening air transport. The decision on the extradition of air pirates takes a complicated "official procedure" in the FRG whereby a series of instances play a decisive role. Up to now, however, the FRG has not extradited any Czechoslovak air pirate in spite of the fact that, for example, a group of hijackers murdered the captain of a plane, Jan Micica, in 1972. The FRG is one of the few countries in the world which virtually support air piracy by its lenient attitude towards hijackers. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1709 GMT 31 Oct 77 LD]

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

HONECKER SENDS GREETINGS TO LEADERS ON NATIONAL DAYS

Spanish King's Thanks

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Oct 77 p 2 AU

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--The king of Spain, Juan Carlos, in a telegram has thanked Erich Honecker for his greetings as chairman of the GDR State Council.

"The Spanish people," the telegram says, "join me in thanking Your Excellency for the cordial congratulations you conveyed to me on the occasion of the national holiday on 12 October 1977. I extend to you best wishes for your personal life and the well-being of your nation."

Greeting To Algeria's Boumediene

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Nov 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To the president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and chairman of the Revolutionary Council, Comrade Houari Boumediene, Algiers.

Highly esteemed Comrade Boumediene:

On the occasion of the national day of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria's 23d anniversary of the beginning of the Algerian people's armed liberation struggle, I extend to you, the members of the Revolutionary Council and the people of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, the most cordial greetings and best wishes on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the people of the GDR, and on my own behalf.

On this day that is so important in Algeria's history I affirm anew that the GDR people harbor sincere feelings of great respect and appreciation for the achievements of the Algerian people in building a new society on a socialist-oriented road.

The relations of multifarious close cooperation and comradely collaboration between our states linked in friendship are strengthening and developing in

the interest of our joint anti-imperialist struggle for peace, security and social progress. This was reconfirmed again during the recent visit of a GDR party-government delegation to your country, where in all negotiations and talks the firm friendship and solid cohesion between the GDR and the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria was clearly demonstrated.

We wish you, highly esteemed Comrade Boumediene, and the working people of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria further successes in the revolutionary transformation of your country.

[Signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Somalia's Barre's Thanks

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5-6 Nov 77 p 2 AU

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council:

I extend to you, Your Excellency, my sincere thanks for your cordial congratulations on the national holiday of the Somali Democratic Republic and convey my best wishes for your health and your well-being, as well as for progress and prosperity of the friendly people of the GDR.

On this occasion I reciprocate your confidence that the friendly relations and the cooperation between our two states will be further developed.

Respectfully [signed] Maj Gen Mohamed Siad Barre, secretary general of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and president of the Somali Democratic Republic.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

MEETING OF FRG LAENDER PREMIERS IN WEST BERLIN SCORED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Nov 77 p 6 AU

[M. A. commentary: "Provocative Actions"]

[Text] In the past few days a several-day conference of the premiers of 56 FRG laenders was held in West Berlin under the chairmanship of the West Berlin governing Mayor D. Stobbe. Such a conference, being demonstratively held in West Berlin--that is, outside of the FRG territory--is in gross contradiction to the quadripartite agreement. It is obvious that thereby, contrary to the quadripartite agreement of 3 September 1971, an unlawful position is adopted and a practical attempt is made to regard and to treat West Berlin as a "land" of the FRG. This is further testified to by the fact that at this Berlin conference it was agreed that the West Berlin governing mayor is to take over the chairmanship of the FRG laender premiers' conference for 1 year--that is, of an organ of the FRG, which occupies a firm place in the FRG state and government system.

Such demonstrative actions cause serious concern, because they are obviously connected with recent statements by official representatives of the FRG Government in the Bundestag, according to which West Berlin is to be treated as a "land" of the FRG by all FRG state and nonstate organs. The question arises: Are such illegal and provocative actions designed to stir up the tensions around West Berlin again? The starting point for a normal development in and around West Berlin, as is known, is strict compliance with the quadripartite agreement, according to which West Berlin is not a constituent part of the FRG and must not be governed by it. This fundamental stipulation is the basis of the quadripartite agreement. It is known that the quadripartite agreement has had a beneficial effect on the political climate in Europe and that it has brought manifold advantages and positive developments primarily for West Berlin.

FRG Chancellor H. Schmidt has declared that an end must be put to all actions designed to test the strain tolerance of the quadripartite agreement. Is this to be called in question now?

It is in West Berlin and its people's interest that the quadripartite agreement be strictly and fully observed, and that all actions and activities which are incompatible with this be stopped.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

WEST RAPPED FOR VETOING ECONOMIC ISOLATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 2 Nov 77 DW

[Peter Spacek commentary]

[Text] For a long time past, dear listeners, it surely would have been inconceivable to the NATO powers that they might have to stand up themselves and plead for an arms embargo on South Africa, their traditional ally--and it would have been even more inconceivable for nobody to applaud the boldness of this step but instead to dismiss it as belated and as demagoguery and to demand more serious measures. This is the dialectics of history as it becomes manifest at present at the United Nations Security Council. If one were to take at face value all that has been said during the last few days, one really could believe that [words indistinct] there, too, more understanding has been gained. Thus, for instance, the UN ambassador of the FRG has stated that Bonn was profoundly dismayed about developments in South Africa, and also about events in Soweto and about the tragic death of Steve Biko. There must be an end to it, so one must not supply that regime with weapons: a line, by which--now listen carefully--the FRG has actually been abiding on a voluntary basis since 1963. But--and here comes the second cloven hoof next to the oddity about the nonsupply of weapons--by no means must there be a complete isolation of South Africa, with the possibility of economic sanctions, for this would mean that one would be deprived of all means of exercising influence for the sake of people and human rights.

Some questions may be appropriate here in view of the fact that the other representatives of the Western powers in the Security Council argued along similar lines. First, what about weapons: if in the past one had exercised so much restraint why then does the apartheid regime have at its command a military machine of really gigantic dimensions, measured by African standards? To single out only a few components: American "Centurion" tanks, British "Tiger-Cat" ground-air missiles, submarines of the French "Daphne" class, Mirages, jet fighters and Canberra bombers, the (?advocaat) center equipped by the FRG with sophisticated electronics with which the entire sea and air space of the Southern Hemisphere can be controlled, (?embracing) also the area where the NATO system ends; not to speak of the domestic arms industry set up with Western licenses which enables the regime to easily survive an embargo. Therefore, no military cooperation as before! Can demagoguery actually be reduced to even more absurdity?

Besides, the weapons issue is not even the core of the matter. One must not isolate South Africa, notably in the economic field, because one then would be deprived of all possibilities of exercising influence. Consequently, the 6,000 U.S. firms that are doing business with the racists, the leading FRG enterprises which are maintaining subsidiaries or their own manufacturing plants in South Africa, the race for holding first place in the field of foreign trade, all this is aimed at achieving a turn to the better. Purchases of strategic raw materials by the NATO powers from South Africa--with the United States, for instance, acquiring 57 percent of its vanadium and 35 percent of its chrome--for the sake of human rights! If a policy is bad then arguments turn out accordingly.

What is actually at stake? The debate currently underway in the Security Council to a substantial degree differs from preceding debates on South Africa. Developments in the apartheid state have become so aggravated, pressure exerted by progressive mankind has become so massive that nowadays nobody dares declare himself loyal to that regime, nor does it work any longer to simply talk without having anything happen. This is why there is this sudden forward flight among the old friends of Vorster, this is why there are these (?strange) gestures and even the theatrics about the arms embargo so as to prevent the more severe step: sanctions which really (?bite). [Several words indistinct] isolation of this horrible regime, as demanded by the African states and not only by them, in the military, nuclear, and political fields and above all in the economic field.

The Western powers have vetoed once again, as has happened so often before, when the situation became serious. The course of the Security Council debate, however, shows that in so doing they will not be in a position much longer to keep the regime's head above water.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SEPTEMBER 1977 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Sep 77 p 4

[Martin Quill review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 9, Sep 77, signed to press 12 Aug 77, pp 1009-1136: "Potential for the Benefit of All of Us Further Improved." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Imperialism Contra Humanism"--this is the topic on which EINHEIT in its September issue publishes five contributions which prove that, all assertions and theories to the contrary notwithstanding, nothing has changed in the nature of imperialism. Hans Tammer stresses that not only can one infer the intensified exploitation from the growing pressure to speed up work, from the reduction of wages and the mass dismissals, but one can even calculate it precisely with the aid of Marx's method for computing the rate of the surplus value. Thus the author is able to prove on the basis of very interesting figures that capital is ruthlessly exploiting the scientific-technical progress to enrich itself to an unimaginable degree. The other articles of this issue deal with the use of the imperialist power mechanisms against the people's masses, with the social insecurity and psychological warfare.

Articles on the efforts of the socialist states to further expand their economic potential for the benefit of the working people are in objective contrast to the contributions on the insolvable contradictions in the capitalist countries. In his contribution, "Fraternal Alliance Between GDR and USSR--A Source of Strength for the Productive Capacity of Our National Economy," Gerhard Schuerer reviews the tasks that arise for us in the energy and raw material sector, in the specialization and intensification of economic processes. Herbert Weiz ("Research and Technology for the Mutual Benefit of Our Countries") and Helmut Koziolk ("Economic Effectiveness and the Comprehensive Effect of Growth Factors") devote themselves to specific aspects of this cooperation.

Finally EINHEIT praises Lenin's work, "State and Revolution," created 60 years ago, and shows how the lessons of the Red October are being creatively applied in our country.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SOCIALIST HUMAN RIGHTS CONCEPT DEFENDED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 9, Sep 77 signed to press 12 Aug 77
pp 1036-1044

[Article by Prof Dr Hermann Klenner, Central Institute for Philosophy, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Human Rights--Hypocrisy and Truth." A translation of the author's EINHEIT No 2, February 1977 article, referred to below, was published in JPRS 68886, 6 April 1977, No 1375 of this series, pp 47-60. For additional related information see JPRS 69532, 1 August 1977, No 1426 of this series, pp 36-56]

[Text] By taking issue with bourgeois human rights conceptions it is proven the alternative is not that of political or economic rights and freedoms but of political and economic rights and freedoms. Our socialist human rights are a totality of political, economic and cultural-ideological rights aimed at the people's and the individuals' right to self-determination, the protection and enforcement of which is a state maxim.

"The foundation of our capitalism is different (Author: from what it is in communism.) We have free enterprise. A person can get as far as he wants to, or as his knowledge and abilities permit him. . . . But in order to have, or keep, one's freedom," one must "strictly obey the rules and do what the government tells one to do," so said one of the U.S. pilots shot down over Vietnam 10 years ago,¹ who had done what his government had told him to do, wherefore he had arrived at where his free enterprise had gotten him. It is instructive to recall this glimpse on the ordinary awareness of freedom and right as manipulated by capitalism, along with its practice of genocide that has its source in that stereotype, because the current demagogic pitch in the human rights campaign comes from the very same politicians who, mildly speaking, had no objections against the attempt at bombing the Vietnamese people back into the stone age, who once financed Allende's overthrow and today are Pinochet's and Vorster's trade partner and arms supplier.

Part of the continuity in the socialist countries' social policy is that they will not let themselves be put in a wrong frontal alignment by the fact that elsewhere the human rights are being refurbished into some sort of carrier rocket for the export of the counterrevolution. Whether the bourgeoisie thinks it advisable to operate its tactics by means of slogans stolen from us, whether it attacks us frontally or means to suffocate us by embraces -- as little as we let ourselves be talked into the goal of the workers movement, communism, our human rights theory is not at anyone's disposal either; for it reflects and inspires the workers' struggle for their goal. The "full and free development of each individual," as Karl Marx put it in his main oeuvre, counts among the fundamental principles of socialist society, which was given appropriate expression in our party program: The SED brings to realization "one of the noblest goals of the revolutionary workers movement: the all round development of the abilities and talents of personality for the good of the individual and of all of socialist society."³

This is the very target that is served by the socialist civil rights and duties which in all socialist countries are part of the constitution and social reality. If one compares their content, the same fundamental right each citizen has extensively to codetermine the real conditions for his freedom and dignity, with the human rights character international treaties impose on their signatory states, one will find that, for one thing, those demands are being met in socialist countries and that, furthermore, socialist civil rights far transcend the obligations contained in the international conventions regarding the political, economic, social and cultural rights, the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, the fighting against, and punishment for, the crime of apartheid, the prevention and punishment of genocide, and the political rights of women (cf. Hermann Klenner, "Human Rights in the Class Struggle," EINHEIT, No 2, 1977 pp 156 ff).

We are not surprised that the basic rights are, essentially, defined as the preservation of private property in circles of the Council of (West) Europe,⁴ or that, worse, it is insinuated that communism and human rights are incompatible.⁵ For it is quite true that the demands for human rights contain no timetable leading everyone to freedom, regardless of class affiliation. Forgetting that in them the interests of one class or another are formulated would mean to become a victim of deception and illusion. What we must oppose, however, with all rigor is the unconscionable attempt by imperialist politicians and theoreticians at abusing the human rights, as means of intervention, under the slogan of the false alternatives "human rights or detente," by which they mean to return our world to the Cold War.

Social Contra Political Rights?

Among the fundamental insights of Marxism, which already had been perceived incidentally by the representatives of utopian communism, is that the yoke of the proletariat in capitalism is threefold: Economic exploitation, ideological manipulation and political suppression define his situation.

That is why the workers movement in its program demands has never been satisfied by advocating political rights only (such as the freedom of assembly for trade union or party) but with it, social and cultural-ideological rights as well (like the right to work and to education) and has fought for their society-transforming realization. On the other hand, because of the pressure from the organized workers and, later, from the socialist countries, some civil rights were admitted to the constitutions of bourgeois states and to various UN resolutions, which have always been a thorn in the sides of the capitalists. They have either sought to keep their catalogs of basic rights free from such rights (in the Basic Law of Bonn there is neither a right to work nor a right to education) or have tried to undermine the respect for the social basic rights. Social basic rights, the claim is made, are incompatible with political basic rights -- equality could only be established on the tomb of freedom --, and their being adopted into the text of a constitution would, at least, harbor the risk that the inviolability of the (political) freedom rights would come to harm, as they would dilute the human rights concept and so make it ineffective; at best, it is said, social rights had a subsidiary function compared with the political rights and therefore were, in any case, of minor legal consequence.

Social reality, on the other hand, demonstrates that political rights without social rights amounts to a combination reflecting and encouraging humanity in words yet inhumanity in deeds. What else is it but mere verbal humanism (this itself, a *contradictio in adiecto*) when from the basic right to the freedom of conscience (article 4 of Bonn's Basic Law) the conclusion is reached that "manipulation is absolutely forbidden"⁷ in a country where opinion molding is economically no less monopolized than are the other spheres of power? What is left of that proscription of manipulation when press tsar Springer exercises the freedom of manipulation, the FRG citizen spends a good one-third of his leisure in front of the tube, the channels on which differ from each other as much as Coca-Cola from Pepsi-Cola, and when every child, even before reaching school-age, gets preprogrammed in the way he feels and thinks by the same television in as many as 4,000 hours of watching.

When the upstanding revolutionaries of the middle-class contended in their human rights catalogs of 1776 and 1789 that ignorance of or contempt for political freedom rights alone had caused all the general misery, and political emancipation were tantamount with the complete realization of freedom by everyone, they were, for all intents and purposes, trapped by historically conditioned illusions. Can the same, however, still be claimed to be true regarding the human rights ideas of the contemporary imperialist bourgeoisie? The claim made by Bonns' Basic Law (Article 12) that everyone had the right "freely to choose" his occupation or place of work is indeed but mockery and hypocrisy in a society where the owners of the means of production have the freedom to make available, or not to make available, the freely chosen place of work. Of what use to the school graduate in the FRG are those euphonious words in his Constitution about a free choice of a place of training if he is one of those 400,000 young people who cannot even choose between an apprenticeship and a job, let alone a job free from

exploitation? What does the right to a free choice of occupation profit a worker who can at any time be fired from the occupation of his choice? Economic subjection of the majority to the minority that owns the means of production is not an unfortunately necessary evil, the price that has to be paid for political freedom. The alternatives are not: political or economic rights, political or economic freedom. Political and economic rights, political and economic freedom, that is what is needed. The freedom of monopoly capitalism it is that stands in the way to the freedom of the masses.

Lest we be misunderstood: We are not arguing against including political freedom rights in bourgeois constitutions. On the contrary. But what is crucial here is the struggle for their realization, lest their function is mere facade in a wolfish and hard-nosed society. Without the struggle by the democratic forces in bourgeois society today, the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the people would have been amalgamated with the in any case prevailing freedom demagoguery of monopoly capital. As long as civil rights only serve coercive economic conditions as a political-legal foil for freedom they have no progressive function. The class-conscious labor movement has by no means made an ideal out of an, at best, simple-minded illusion of a democracy that serves both the capitalists and the workers alike. Human rights in bourgeois society are not what one either has or does not have, but the realization and further development of which one has to fight for. Precisely because there was the illusion in the past, today being merely hypocrisy, that the political freedom rights of the bourgeoisie contained a complete program for a solidary society, free from suppression, of equals, that they were human rights in the true sense of the word, as it were, the proof established by Marx is so important, to the effect that it is totally impossible "to wish to reconstitute society on a basis which itself is nothing but the beautified shadow of that society."⁸

Propelling human emancipation without touching the political and economic power of monopoly capitalism is impossible. In a study of the situation of black women in South Africa, who do not have the right to live with their own husband and to bring up their own children, the point is made that there is no way to change this condition unless the whole society is overturned.⁹ Taken seriously, freedom rights always hang together, the massive realization of one right is instrumental to the realization of another. This, incidentally, is so deeply rooted in the consciousness of the world public, as far as the relationship between economic and political rights is concerned, that the international human rights conference in Teheran (1968), summoned by the UN General Assembly, the thus far most important one of its kind, offered this formulation in its concluding proclamation: "As human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible, a full realization of the political and civil rights without the enjoyment of the economic, social and cultural rights is impossible."¹⁰

Social Security and Political Freedom Are Not Alternatives

Thus it makes no sense to say, as is sometimes suggested, that the socialist GDR is realizing the social basic rights and the capitalist FRG, the political

basic rights.¹¹ Social security and political freedom are not alternatives. In opposition to the demands for a right to work (which to enforce even the FRG parliament committed itself to by its ratification of the appropriate UN Convention of 1966), though they have been presented at SPD party congresses, recognized by the Socialist International and contained in the basic DGB program of 1963,¹¹ this most elemental human right has neither been proclaimed nor realized. Massive unemployment has increased labor agitation and the pressure for overtime work; it often has forced the workers to abandon the few codetermination rights in industry they had and significant ones among the social rights they had gained earlier. Foreign workers are deprived of the right to equality before the law. Women's wages are at an average 30 percent below men's wages. The anticonstitutional measures that have to do with the ban on practicing one's occupation hurt almost 20 percent of all workers and employees,¹³ and 3,000 unmitigated bans on practicing one's occupation are poisoning the atmosphere, especially at the universities. The concentration process in the public opinion media corrupts the freedom of opinion, anti-communism is flooding the land, and devastating youth unemployment ties down the new generation of adults to the interests of monopoly capital.

On the other hand, in the GDR there would not be this economic and social security, had the political rights of the working people not been carried into effect, above all the basic right, guaranteed in article 21 of our Constitution, "comprehensively to codetermine the political, economic, social and cultural life of the socialist society and the socialist state." How else could exploitation be abolished and the socialist planned economy, which serves the good of all the working people, be created, were it not by the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the interests of all the people? Our human rights are not a haphazard bunch of accidental rights. They are a well coordinated system of political, economic and cultural-ideological rights oriented toward the self-determination of the people as of the individuals.

That the right to work is of special weight to us in this is only natural. For work is the foremost basic condition of human life. In it lies the key for understanding all of mankind's history. To become productive, after all, is the most human of all human characteristics. And furthermore -- provided peace is preserved -- does not a higher material and cultural standard of living for each depend on greater labor productivity and higher efficiency in social labor? Does not a progressive change in working conditions, even if only gradually, reduce the proportion of monotonous and heavy physical labor? Does that not raise, all in all, the chance of a higher share of creative work for many and the possibility to participate in industrial and social management processes?

This does not mean, however, that socialism offers its citizens nothing but work and that capitalism, while not being able to provide prosperity for all, at least guarantees the "dignity" of man. Such wrong alternatives, which come down to the attempt of putting the unemployed off with the semblance of "higher dignities," can be constructed only by those who either do not know a thing about human rights or seek to falsify the facts.¹⁴

Not only the social rights but some of the political rights as well were adopted in the bourgeois constitutions, not on the initiative of the bourgeoisie but against bitter bourgeois resistance. The right of assembly, for example, still was outlawed, as unconstitutional, in the French Revolution as an "assault on freedom and on the declaration of human rights."¹⁵ And a CDU prime minister in one of the federal states of the FRG has extolled torture as recommending itself morally under certain conditions,¹⁶ even though the use of it was outlawed by the international convention on political and civil rights, which also is in effect for the FRG (Article 7). Certainly, in many a capitalist state one can refer to the incumbent chief of state as a fool with impunity, but one should just go and try calling one's boss that! Pluralistic tomfoolery still has always proven a state preservative.

To say it once more: The political rights contained in the human rights chapters of socialist constitutions (freedom of speech, assembly, affiliation and conscience, and the rights to free movement and legality) are taken as seriously and are as much guaranteed as the economic and ideological rights. Nor are they any vacuous formulas,¹⁷ as bourgeois ideologists sometimes claim they are; because, in contrast to similar texts in the articles of the constitutions in the imperialist part of the world, among us it is not a democratically illegitimate "elite" of owners of the means of production, but the workers and farmers themselves who, as socialist owners, control the material prerequisites and enforcement of the political rights. The socialist transformation, the most penetrating revolution of all social relations in history, has no doubt also brought up a wealth of questions about how to organize most productively the basic rights of the citizens, and no tested solutions were readily available. It was, after all, a matter of enforcing an entirely new order of collective and individual relations against the bitter resistance from the overthrown exploiters under the conditions of a sharp political, economic and ideological class struggle on the international level ranging from the imperialist states' attempts at military and economic blackmail of socialism to unbridled anticommunist agitation and slander. That contradictions did exist in this process which were hard to surmount, that there were differences of opinion about how best to implement the human rights at any time, and that also violations have occurred of constitutionally vested basic rights and duties (any failure, for instance, in meeting the terms of a contract on the promotion of women, or any neglected, or bureaucratically handled, innovator suggestion) should surprise only those who imagine the road to communism as a snap course. But we are materialists and dialecticians. Our freedom rights, in any event, are part of our way of life. They are not a haphazard promise of a future program but law of immediate validity (Article 105 of our Constitution).

Much as certain cornerstones in our socialist mode of production and way of life have to be laid by means of the power instruments of the state, in the interest of overall social, and hence also, of personality development, it still would be all wrong to imagine the social function of our basic rights and duties as a centrally directed state tutelage, however well meant, of

the individual. Socialism and communism mean neither leveling nor streamlining individual interests and needs. And they certainly do not dissolve the personal right of the individual in the people's right to self-determination. On the contrary, the all round development of all abilities and talents asked for by the party program would be inconceivable without a protected need for individuality and enjoyment. Granted -- we know this -- that leisure does not automatically become freedom, yet the right to leisure and a private life is a constitutional law in socialism. And it would surely mean a thorough misconception of the society-transforming role of the socialist human rights, were one to see in it a fence, a protective wall for the caprice of anchorites, instead of seeing that this is a matter of massive personality development, of the self-realization of free individuals, of the self-determination of the entire people.

As all other means, methods, objectives and stations on our road of progress, so also the basic rights and freedoms are subject to further development in accordance with social possibilities and requirements. This can be persuasively demonstrated by comparing that Soviet Union's draft constitution now under discussion with the relevant provisions in the 1918 RSFSR Constitution and the 1936 USSR Constitution. In accordance with the main tendency of the draft, "the expansion and deepening of socialist democracy,"¹⁸ the norms set down in the basic rights chapter 7 of the future constitution have also been expanded, their contents have been deepened and the material and legal guarantees for their being observed, completed.¹⁹

That the stability and continuity of social progress, as encouraged and protected by our civil rights, opens a broad area of responsibility and a leeway for decisions to individual and collective creativity, is real and being felt among us. "The developed socialist society releases new conditions and prerequisites for infusing humanism, democracy and freedom with richer content, for the society as a whole as well as for the individual."²⁰ That at once requires a thorough examination of the social effectiveness of our basic rights and of the interconnection between the effectiveness of socialist democracy and the real conditions in the practical appearance of human rights as realized in enterprises and residential areas. The results of such investigations are a contribution that will help develop the working people's creative initiative as a real expression of freedom and of the realization of human rights in socialism.

State Power and Human Right

To have liberty, equality and fraternity come true for the first time, Rosa Luxemburg said in one of her last articles in ROTE FAHNE (RED BANNER),²² all the power has to be in the hands of the working masses. That in the outcome of the proletarian revolution, under the leadership by the working class party, the means of production as well as the political and intellectual means of power are socialized, is the fundamental condition for the definite elimination of the antagonistic contradiction between social and personality development, between state and individual, which is characteristic of the entire exploiter society. Only as long as one misinterprets freedom,

as a situation in which anyone may let his whims run riot, can one claim that the functionalism of the human rights is purely individual in type.²³ That contention is as much petty bourgeois illusion as it is haute bourgeois hypocrisy.

The protection and enforcement of the human rights in socialist society are state maxim, as the participation in the government is a civic maxim. In profound contrast to anarchistic-individualistic irresponsibility, there is conformity here, strictly speaking even an identity, between civic rights and civic duties. Neither the citizen by himself nor the state alone, but society in all its elements and with all its organs is responsible for the implementation of the human rights in socialism. Human rights, plainly, are not a mere private matter. Not those acts stake out the individual's sphere of freedom that are irrelevant to socialist society, that are legally insignificant. The personal interests too are socially conditioned. They can only be realized under the conditions established by society and through the means it makes available. Social wealth, on the other hand, is significantly conditioned by the physical and psychological richness of individuals, whose all round development therefore is socially highly desirable. The socialist state, as the socialized power organ under the leadership by the revolutionary party, thus is interested in, and ultimately guarantees, each citizen's realizing his freedom and the dignity of his personality. The interconnection between personal and social freedom is expressed in legal terms in that the socialist state guarantees all citizens the exercise of their rights and the individual has a claim, assured by constitutional, labor, civil and criminal law, to the realization of his human rights.²⁴

The experiences in every victorious proletarian revolution, and also the popular uprisings that were defeated by reaction, demonstrate that the minority of the once ruling exploiter class must lose the freedom it has indulged in, of suppressing the majority, so that the majority can make its freedom and human rights prevail. The U.S. communists have unmistakably stated in their party program that in the socialist democracy of the future the freedoms named in the Bill of Rights will assume greater importance for the majority of the population yet freedom will not be brought by socialism for everyone and everything. Neither will it grant freedom for racism nor for propaganda on a return to capitalist exploitation.²⁵ Freedom set as an absolute, experience teaches, leads to unfreedom. By the way, also the international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (1965, article 4) demands that the states of the world make punishable any act of racist propaganda, whereby it thus also renounces a freedom of information interpreted as "absolute."

The experiences in the countries of real socialism, where there is no freedom for the destroyers of freedom,²⁶ furthermore also show that the ways and means, the scope and severity, of the inroads to be taken into the assumed freedoms and privileges of the members and agents of the former ruling classes, the questions of indemnities for their being expropriated and their involvement in socialist construction, decisively depend on their very own attitudes.

Opposite World-views and Human Rights

The Marxist-Leninist human rights conception is necessarily a component of our scientific world-view. That also finds expression in the fact that we cannot accept human rights as primordial values of divine origin, beyond time and space. No one has been able to prove the existence of such universal basic values. On the contrary, as the grapes were too high for the fox to reach them, the contention has meanwhile been raised they were neither verifiable nor falsifiable, their origin could not be explained, a sense of internal certitude should have to suffice for their being passed on and, in any event, they were embedded in the conscience of each individual.²⁷ We certainly do not mean to deny that, of course, individual conscience motivates toward progressive actions (and to opposite actions as well, to be sure), but as a foundation for fundamental social decisions conscience is an unsuitable concept, precisely because the fundamental value ideas in class society are formed by the class conflict itself. A scientific human rights conception, one that objectively and adequately reflects on-going social processes, can therefore not be based on ominous basic values but has to be based on the material interests of the workers class, which express the requirements of social progress and of the extensive development of personality and productivity. Marx and Engels always fought against all more or less well intended attempts at substituting for the material base of socialism some modern mythological divinities of justice and sacred rights.²⁸

That the cause of human rights would be in a bad way, were it to be rooted only in faith, is also demonstrated by the international problems in making peace and human rights prevail. In an article that is meant to refute the human rights article of EINHEIT (No 2, 1977), it is stated: "Human rights, from the Western point of view, are not a function or premise of economics but are indeed rooted in the conscience of the individual or -- depending on one's faith -- in religious creeds. Human rights are not objectifiable, are not subject to scientific proof. They are working concepts and have always been just that. However, precisely because this is so, the acknowledgement of general human rights cannot recognize the boundaries of states, social systems or classes. All human beings have access to these rights, and all must have the right to take steps in support of the rights of all others. The UN must of course have the same right. . . .²⁹ Thus, the nonintervention principle does not apply to the human rights." Now, in a way one could settle for offering the author of such short-circuited argumentation some tutoring in international law, were it not the case that his claims, admittedly based on irrationalism, negated the peoples' self-determination right and jeopardized the peace, that is to say, are inimical to human rights": "human rights" in one hand, the neutron bomb in the other.

The fact is that international cooperation for fostering the human rights is based on the recognition of the self-determination right of every nation, and the UN human rights requirement is derived from its peace-securing function. Article 55 of the UN Charter states: "With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful

and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote . . . universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all." Similarly, one can read in the Helsinki CSCE Final Act the decisive statement: "The participating states recognize the universal importance of the human rights and fundamental freedoms, the respect for which is an essential factor for peace, justice and well-being, and which in turn are necessary for insuring the development of friendly relations and cooperation among them and among all states."³⁰

Among the disarming contradictions of our times is that the leading power of imperialism, the United States, which has thus far not ratified even one of the important UN human rights conventions,³¹ on the one hand poses as a human rights moralist in the world of today (though it has not even outlawed the Ku-Klux-Klan in its own country) and, on the other hand, by its permanent veto in the Security Council -- along with the FRG, France, Great Britain and Israel -- has drawn upon itself the UN General Assembly reproach that by its stance of collaboration it encouraged South Africa's racist regime with its hostility to human rights and the dangers it holds for peace. In the same resolution (3411), the UN General Assembly has declared the national liberation movements to be the only legitimate representatives of the South African people.

Illusions and hypocrisy can delay the breakthrough process of truth in the human rights issue, to be sure, but eventually progress finds its way, through insight and practical events. The peoples themselves will see to that.

FOOTNOTES

1. Heynowski and Scheumann, "Piloten im Pyjama" (Pilots in Pyjamas), Verlag der Nation, Berlin, 1968, pp 148-149.
2. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 1, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 618.
3. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 53-56.
4. "The Basic Rights of the European Citizens," EUROFORUM, Brussels, No 15, 1977, p 3.
5. Martin Kriele, "No Progress Without Human Rights," DIE ZEIT, Hamburg, 17 June 1977, p 16.
6. Th. Tomandl, "Der Einbau sozialer Grundrechte in das positive Recht" (Fitting Fundamental Social Rights Into Statute Law), Tuebingen, 1967, pp 44 f.

7. E.g.: G. Freihalter, "Gewissensfreiheit" (Freedom of Conscience), West Berlin, 1973, p 124. -- Nothing was said at all about the degree of monopolization by the mass media in the U.S. government report to the UN on the status of freedom of information (UN-Doc E/CN, 4/1214/Add 11, p 11).
8. Karl Marx, "Poverty of Philosophy," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 105.
9. H. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears--Woman in Apartheid South Africa," London, 1975, p 9.
10. Proclamation of Teheran, "Human Rights--A Compilation of International Instruments of the United Nations," New York, 1973, p 19 (Article 13).
11. E.g.: J. Hacker, "The Human Rights in Divided Germany," DIE POLITISCHE MEINUNG, Bonn, May/June, 1977, p 48.
12. "Die beiden deutschen Staaten und das Recht auf Arbeit" (The Two German States and the Right to Work), Bonn, 1976, pp 40 f.
13. Horst Bethge, ed., "Gewerkschaftsstimmen gegen Berufsverbote" (Trade Union Voices Against the Ban on Practicing One's Occupation), Cologne, 1977, p 7.
14. Possibly Guenter Zehm, "Human Rights--What Actually Does That Mean?" DIE WELT, Hamburg, 16 April 1977.
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EAST GERMANY

GDR, USSR PROGRESS TOWARD TRANSITION TO COMMUNISM REVIEWED

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[Article by Prof Dr Heinz Heitzer, deputy director, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Creative Application of the Universally Valid Lessons of the Great Socialist October Revolution in the GDR." For related information see the following JPRS issues of this series: 68576, 3 Feb 77, No 1348, pp 24-40; and 67774, 17 Aug 76, No 1281, pp 23-28]

[Text] The birth and growth of the GDR confirm the universal validity of the fundamental lessons and experiences of the October Revolution. Through a creative application of these universally valid lessons, the GDR working people, led by their Marxist-Leninist party, have in a unified revolutionary process successfully led to victory the antifascist-democratic transformation and the socialist revolution and are creating today, through the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism.

"The CPSU has, as the pioneer in the revolution and in socialist construction, gathered rich experiences. Universally valid inevitabilities have time and again been confirmed through the creative application to any given special national conditions."¹ The development of the GDR also gives evidence to that pronouncement in the joint appeal by the SED Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the National Front of the GDR, on behalf of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. Led by the universally valid lessons of the Red October, the workers class and its allies, under the leadership by our Marxist-Leninist party, have successfully followed the road opened into a new future by the Soviet Union's victory over fascism. Through a unified revolutionary process have the antifascist-democratic transformation and the socialist revolution been led to victory. Today we can face the objective of further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR and thus creating fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism.

By these words, Comrade Erich Honecker has described the decisive causes for the GDR's successful development: "By proceeding in its strategy and tactics from the universally valid inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction and always taking account of the experiences of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, the SED has been able to move ahead successfully."² In spite of certain national particulars, the fundamental lessons and experiences of the Great Socialist October Revolution are of universally valid importance. The October Revolution took place in a country that had been the point of intersection for the manifold contradictions of capitalism in its monopolist stage. It expressed the needs of the whole world -- to paraphrase a well-known statement by Marx -- and not only of the segment of the world in which it took place. The October Revolution united all main trends in the struggle against imperialism. It therefore anticipated the most important processes all countries on the way to socialism have in common.

That also is the reason why bourgeois ideologists of all shades have forever and anon directed their main attack against the universal validity of the fundamental lessons and experiences of the Great Socialist October Revolution and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. While formerly the October Revolution was referred to plainly as "superfluous" or "accidental," today a certain historic justification for it is recognized, to be sure, but only so that it can then be said the October Revolution had been a "freak" of the "modern world revolution" and solely relevant to Russia in order to open, for Russia, the road to becoming a "modern industrial society." This is, however, by no means a new variant. In the garb of the doctrine on the "modern industrial society," amounting today to the most widely spread form of apology for imperialism, the old notions of the October Revolution as a specifically Russian phenomenon continue to be disseminated. But be they "new" or old -- all these distortions have one and the same goal of denying the inevitability of the replacement of capitalism by socialism.

Many countries' transition to socialism after World War II confirmed Lenin's prediction however "that some basic features of our revolution are not of a local, specifically national, or exclusively Russian significance, but of international significance . . . , and that the Russian model shows all countries something, that is, something extremely essential in their own unavoidable and not too far distant future."³ The experiences of numerous countries, the GDR among them, have demonstrated that socialism is subject to general inevitabilities which have first been made to prevail in the Great Socialist October Revolution and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union.

Like all other general developmental social laws, the general inevitabilities of socialism never occur in an abstract form. They are always brought to realization in concrete forms. Consistent regard for the specific is a crucial precondition for being able to enforce the general inevitabilities. That is why V. I. Lenin had stressed that it concerned the unity "in fundamentals, in the most important, the essential." They would "not be disturbed

but secured by the variety of detail, of local specifics, of methods of approach to things."⁴ Lenin opposed any mechanical copying of the Russian example and appealed for the Soviet experiences to be applied creatively, under the concrete conditions of any given country.

The variety in the emergence and development of socialism also has objective causes. It simply follows from the fact that the new society is being established in national forms, within the framework of independent states. "The social revolution of the proletariat proceeds under conditions marked by national particulars, differences in the stage of political and economic development, and different degrees of maturity in the preconditions for socialism and in the comprehension by the masses of the revolutionary tasks of the epoch."⁵ This variety, furthermore, is rooted in the fact that the general historic situation in which the various peoples move toward socialism changes. Of special importance here is the balance of power on a world scale between socialism and capitalism, the help of the Soviet Union and the cooperation among the socialist states, and the question whether some imperialist military intervention must be turned back or peace is successfully preserved.

The right combination of the general and the particular has always been therefore, and is, the fundamental task of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle for the realization of the historic mission of the workers class. "Unless one relies on the general inevitabilities and takes the concrete historic specifics of each country into account," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev announced, "socialism cannot be established. It also is impossible, as long as one ignores those two factors, properly to develop the relations among the socialist states."⁶

Novel International Conditions for the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism

There were in particular great differences among the countries moving toward socialism after World War II. In the territory of the GDR, for instance, the transition from capitalism to socialism took place under conditions of a partly open border with the imperialist system, with an imperialist "bridgehead" -- West Berlin -- amidst GDR territory. The GDR was exposed to the Cold War of imperialism to a particularly great extent. Imperialism did all it could in working for the elimination of the GDR. That is why on GDR territory the transition from capitalism to socialism could come about only through bitter conflict with imperialism.

All countries moving toward socialism after World War II, the GDR included, had in common, however, that the revolution could develop under altogether more favorable conditions than after 1917, in a new stage of the revolutionary world process, in view of a fundamentally altered international constellation of forces marked, in particular, by the enormous increase of power on the part of the Soviet Union and the weakening of imperialism as a total system. Thanks to the aid from the Soviet Union, the use made of its rich experiences and the cooperation among the socialist states, the fundamental inevitabilities of socialism could often more rapidly be made to prevail, and with

fewer complications, than it had been possible under the far more difficult conditions of the victory of socialism in only one country and faced with capitalist encirclement and imperialist military intervention. The altered international power ratio, especially the existence of the Soviet Union and its internationalist support, opened more favorable possibilities for setting the tempo and deadlines for the transition from capitalism to socialism and even permitted the application of new forms and methods which, while already conceived by V. I. Lenin, could previously not become fully effective because of the intensification of the class struggle after the October Revolution. The transition from capitalism to socialism also became possible in smaller countries that were specially threatened by imperialism or economically less developed and which, all on their own, would not have had the necessary capabilities for it.

To use the new and more favorable conditions and possibilities required above all proceeding in this transition from capitalism to socialism in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, that is, in close cooperation with the USSR, by creative application of its fundamental experiences, as a member of the emerging socialist world system. That alone could fully satisfy the new stage of the revolutionary world process.

By knowing how to apply creatively the universally valid lessons of the Great Socialist October Revolution, by making them conform to concrete conditions in the GDR and to the new stage of the revolutionary world process, the SED made its contribution to the treasure of Marxism-Leninism.

Leadership Role of the Workers Class--Basic Idea of Lenin's Theory of Revolution

The Great Socialist October Revolution proved the vitality in Lenin's theory of revolution. It showed in particular that the workers class, led by its revolutionary party, must exercise leadership in all phases of the revolutionary process. The various revolutionary changes in the world since, among them the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism in the GDR, corroborate the universal validity of these fundamental experiences of the October Revolution.

As in all big class struggles since, so also after the liberation of the German people from fascism, the cardinal question was how to enhance rapidly the fighting strength of the workers class and its organization and awareness. On that depended whether one would succeed, under working class leadership, in developing a broad, stable, constantly expanding mass movement, strong enough to paralyze the imperialist forces completely.

It was therefore of crucial importance that in the form of the KPD a battle-tested Marxist-Leninist party of the German workers class existed which, in creative application of Lenin's theory of revolution, had developed a scientific program for overcoming imperialism and bringing the working masses into the socialist revolution, and had attracted a growing number of working people to this policy. In its action program, the appeal of 11 June 1945,

the KPD Central Committee focused on an antifascist-democratic transformation as a necessary phase under prevailing conditions on the road to socialism. Guided by Lenin's theory of revolution, "it proceeded from the consideration that the antifascist-democratic transformation would continue and develop into the socialist revolution to the extent that the workers class could, led by its revolutionary vanguard, bring its hegemony to prevail, conquer decisive power positions and thereby forge and further develop its alliance with the other working classes and strata."⁷

The creative application of Lenin's theory of revolution also found expression in the "SED Principles and Goals" as resolved by the unification party congress between the KPD and SPD on 21 and 22 April 1946. In stressing the establishing of political rule by the workers class as an indispensable prerequisite for the construction of socialism, the SED proceeded from the universally valid principles of Marxism-Leninism as they had found their first practical confirmation in the Soviet Union. In view of such novel internal and external conditions, the SED pointed out the possibility of bringing about the transition to socialism without civil war or armed conflict. Recalling the lessons of the October Revolution and of other great class struggles, it at the same time underscored its determination to answer the counterrevolution's resistance through force by the force of the workers class.

The founding of the SED was a decisive victory by Marxism-Leninism against opportunism, which made the hegemony of the workers class complete. Through its systematic development as the Marxist-Leninist party, the SED gained the political-ideological maturity, the strength and the mass influence which were necessary for successfully concluding the antifascist-democratic transformation and for leading it further into the socialist revolution.

When the essential tasks of the antifascist-democratic transformation had been solved in 1948 and 1949, the SED extended its policy further. The measures for the all round strengthening of the antifascist-democratic achievements which were taken by the 11th, 12th and 13th session of the party executive in 1948 and by the first party conference in January 1949 meant that the course now became a rigorous extension of the antifascist-democratic transformation into the socialist revolution by a smoothly flowing revolutionary process. In the spirit of Lenin's theory of revolution, the SED now focused on systematically strengthening the elements, germs and transitional forms of socialism in the state, the economy and society that had already been created in the course of the antifascist-democratic transformation.

The founding and consolidation of the GDR as a socialist state, the successful transition to the socialist phase of the revolutionary transformation, confirmed the soundness of SED policy. To be able to solve the new tasks, a higher degree of awareness and organization in the workers class and among the other working people was needed. The special point was, as the experiences in the Soviet Union had proven, to qualify the working class party ever better in comprehensively realizing its leadership role in the conflict with imperialism and opportunism, systematically managing the state and the economy, and mobilizing and successfully leading the workers class and its allies.

In line with that were the resolutions of the Third SED Congress in July 1950 concerning the further development of the SED as the Marxist-Leninist party, the further development of its leadership role in all domains of public life and the systematic application of Soviet experiences. Under the slogan "To learn from the Soviet Union means learning how to win!" there developed, under SED leadership, a people's movement embracing one million workers and other working people devoted to the appropriation and application of the lessons and experiences of the Great Socialist October Revolution and of the construction of socialism in the USSR, which has become one of the permanent traditions in the history of the GDR and is continuing at a higher level on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Red October. First and foremost has always been the fundamental experience of the CPSU that the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the party and a growth in working class activities are prerequisite to all progress and success. Thus GDR history also confirms the basic idea of Lenin's theory of revolution: "The workers class can fulfill its historic mission only if its Marxist-Leninist party insures the leadership role of the workers class throughout all the phases of the revolutionary process. As for the struggle for establishing its power, this is equally true for the further phases in the development of socialist society."⁸

Power is the Most Important Matter

"The October Revolution was and remained successful because it conceived and judged the question of power, its seizure and consolidation, as the first and foremost matter."⁹ Mindful of the lessons of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the KPD, and later the SED, after fascism had been destroyed by the Soviet Army, saw in the creation of new state organs the most important political act and, with it, the crucial condition for the antifascist-democratic transformation. Under party leadership and with constant support from the Soviet occupying power, class-conscious workers and antifascists from other population strata started building from the grass-roots new state organs that were allied with the people. These were organs of the type of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and farmers, with other population strata participating in it. The Soviet Military Administration in Germany assigned increasingly greater responsibilities to those state organs. Very important was -- and this too had been taught by the October Revolution -- that the power positions of the workers class ranged not only over the political but also the economic sphere. In the form of the people-owned sector in the economy, the crucial material basis was laid for working class hegemony.

It had become necessary in 1948 and 1949 to consolidate and further develop the new power organs in order to secure the revolutionary achievements. The high point of this process was reached with the founding of the GDR. Thereby a state was established in which the workers class, led by its revolutionary party and in alliance with the working farmers and other working people, holds the political rule, a state of the type of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once again there was confirmed the general inevitability that the construction of socialism presupposes that the workers class holds the power of government.

Contrasts in comparison with the Soviet power did exist in the emergence and forms of socialist state power in the GDR. Altered internal and external conditions made it possible that in the GDR -- much as in most other People's Democracies -- the political rule by the working class formed in a process of continuity in the course of which the workers class kept consolidating its hegemony through struggle against imperialism and reactionary politicians and steadily enhanced its decisive influence on the state organs and other domains of public life. Socialist state power in the GDR evolved from the administrative organs and people's representations that had originated during the antifascist-democratic transformation. Another, no less important, source, resulting from the specific manner of the struggle against the imperialist cleavage policy, was the extraparlimentary movement of the German People's Congress, from the executive organ of which, the German People's Council, the top people's representation of the GDR emerged.

Characteristic of several socialist countries, the GDR among them, is that there are several parties and that they are working together under the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party and under the conditions of the working class holding the power of government. The Bolsheviks had envisaged that possibility too in 1917. But it could not be done because of the undisguised departure by the leftist Mensheviks and social revolutionaries assuming counterrevolutionary positions. The altered conditions made it possible for the non-proletarian parties in the GDR to undergo a profound process of change in the course of the revolutionary transformation, that turned them into active participants in the construction of socialism under SED leadership.

The specific historic conditions also gave rise to the concrete forms in which the military protective function of socialist state power in the GDR emerged. The NVA was created in the GDR as a necessary response to the integration of the FRG in NATO at an already advanced stage of socialist construction, as an integral component of the socialist defense organization of the Warsaw Pact. The inevitability in the protection of the revolutionary achievements from internal and external enemies -- a major lesson of the Great Socialist October Revolution -- was, however, in effect from the outset. Alongside the Soviet Army, the new protective and security organs assumed the protection of the achievements of the working people against attacks from internal and external reaction. Under SED leadership, they developed into reliable working class instruments.

As in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, crucial importance attached to the development and consolidation of socialist state power in the GDR in the process of socialist construction. That could only be done through class struggle and was inseparably linked with the development of socialist democracy. Like Soviet power, socialist state power in the GDR also is the chief working class instrument in the construction and development of socialism, and also as in the Soviet country, the creation of the socialist mode of production was its most important task in the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

Thus in the GDR, under different concrete conditions and, accordingly, under different forms, methods and deadlines, the main lesson of the Great Socialist October Revolution was brought to realization: The old imperialist state apparatus was destroyed, and an all new state power, ruled by the workers class, was created. Its consolidation and perfection has been and remains a permanent task. And once again Lenin's prediction was confirmed: "The transition from capitalism to communism is bound to produce of course an immense wealth and variety of political forms, but the essential in it will absolutely be one thing: the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹⁰

Common Ownership in the Most Important Means of Production--The Material Foundation for Socialist Democracy

For the first time in history, the October Revolution placed the most important means of production in the hands of the people. It created entirely new property and production relations. They form the material foundation for socialist democracy, for the realization of human rights and true freedom.

The liberation by the Soviet Union and the formation of working class unity allowed for the expropriation, without indemnities, of the enterprises of the Nazi and war criminals in what was then the Soviet zone of occupation. This anti-imperialist and democratic measure, carried out, against the bitter resistance by reactionary forces, in the outcome of a plebiscite, paralleled the nationalization of large-scale industry brought to realization by the Soviet power and, after World War II, in the states of the People's Democracies. It led to the formation of a people-owned economic sector where exploitation was eliminated and new economic laws began to take effect.

With the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the transition to the socialist revolution, the socialist sector of the economy developed. That combined with penetrating changes in the shaping of the production relations, in the forms and methods of management, planning and labor organization, for the implementation of which the experiences and the example of the Soviet Union were of fundamental importance. The socialist sector in industry has been, and is, the decisive material foundation for the political rule of the working class, for socialist democracy and the development of the working people's creative capabilities. Its growth makes possible the steady improvement of the material and cultural standard of living of the working people. Socialist property assures them of their fundamental social rights, especially of the fundamental human right to work.

As in the Soviet Union so also in the GDR, in the transition period from capitalism to socialism there were three economic sectors: the people-owned or socialist, the private capitalist and the sector of small commodity production. Between the socialist and capitalist forces the class struggle was going on to decide the question "Who - whom?" In view of the altered internal and external conditions it became possible to decide this question in favor of the socialist sector primarily by economic means -- the development of the socialist sector and increased production and improved labor productivity -- despite the Cold War engaged in by imperialism, which at times produced complicated situations.

When the socialist economy had become sufficiently strong and the workers-and-farmers power had further consolidated, the Leninist ideas on state capitalism in the transition period could be applied in the GDR to a larger extent and in line with the specific conditions of the GDR. That was mainly done by state investments in private enterprises. The enterprises having such government investments proved the suitable transitional form for becoming socialist enterprises. That process was concluded in 1972 through the revolutionary transformation of the then still extant enterprises having state investments, the private industrial and construction enterprises and the industrially producing small trades cooperatives.

Capitalist large-scale farming property was also done away with in the GDR in the outcome of the socialist revolution, after the capitalist large estates had already previously been expropriated, without indemnities, in the democratic land reform. The altered power ratio made it possible to refrain from general expropriation measures against the large-scale farmers as part of the capitalist class. This did not suspend the inevitabilities of the class struggle. The SED and the government interfered with all capitalist development in the countryside, held down any economic and political influence by the large-scale farmers and constrained their zest for exploitation. A distinction was made between large-scale farmers who would meet their obligations to the state and other elements who would violate the laws and had to be punished for it.

After the socialist sector in the countryside had grown sufficiently strong, the large-scale farmers loyally supporting the workers-and-farmers power got the opportunity to become LPG members. Conditions for admission were such that other members of the cooperatives could thereby not be placed at any disadvantage. By 1960, approximately 50,000 large-scale farmers (including their family members) had become LPG members. That amounted to five percent of all LPG members. Former members of the capitalist class became socialist working people, members of socialist society enjoying equal rights.

Marxist-Leninist Alliance Policy

The October Revolution was a triumph of Marxist-Leninist alliance policy. The revolution was invincible because the workers class succeeded, under the leadership by Lenin's party, in forging a firm alliance with the working peasants. This class alliance became the core for a broad alliance with other working people.

Mindful of the lessons of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and of the experiences of the Soviet Union, the KPD, or SED, from the outset perceived the working farmers as the natural and closest allies of the workers class. The democratic land reform was carried out in a manner that fully conformed with the interests and needs of the working farmers, wherefore it laid the foundation for their firm class alliance. Moreover -- as all other anti-imperialist and democratic measures -- it was conceived and directed by the vanguard of the workers class looking toward the far distant future of

socialism. Approximately one-third of the land fund thus remained in the hands of state organs or public institutions. People-owned farms originated here and machinery leasing stations, the germinating cells of socialism in the countryside.

In many ways the SED directed and supported the farmers' transition to co-operative production, yet it forgot not even for a moment that this thus far most penetrating change in rural production and living conditions could be carried through only by the working farmers themselves and with due regard to the volunteer principle. Annual conferences of the activists and chairmen of agricultural production cooperatives with leading SED and government representatives, later continued as farmers congresses, became important forums for democratic consultation and decision-making.

In line with the specific conditions in the GDR, the SED concentrated on especially attracting the medium-size farmers to socialism; after the land reform they were the most important rural stratum. The SED would oppose trends of sectarianism as vigorously as tendencies of letting things take care of themselves. Even after the socialist transformation of agriculture had gotten started, the SED consistently continued its policy of supporting farmers doing their farming still on their own; in them were seen the co-operative farmers of tomorrow.

That by the spring of 1960 all farmers had joined the LPG confirmed that the SED's Marxist-Leninist alliance policy had been correct. Based on cooperative property, the class of the cooperative farmers developed, the main ally of the workers class in socialist society. This confirmed the universal validity of Lenin's cooperative plan and the fundamental importance it had for all countries -- even in those countries where industry and agriculture had already reached a relatively high stage under capitalist conditions.

The vanguard of the workers class also paid much attention to the alliance with the intelligentsia, with craftsmen and tradesmen, and with segments of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle middle-class. It was taken into account that, because of the altered internal and external conditions, and despite the problems resulting from the direct confrontation with imperialism, favorable conditions existed for creating a broad alliance and for making it stable and permanent. The party sought to involve all potential allies of the workers class in the antifascist-democratic transformation and, later, in the socialist revolution. This broad alliance found its political crystallization in the antifascist-democratic bloc, the people's congress movement and the National Front. The production cooperatives of small trades proved themselves as the economic form for the socialist transformation of the trades.

To some extent the consolidation of the alliance went hand in hand with lengthy and fierce conflicts with reactionary forces seeking, in vain, to halt the advance of the revolution, whereby they would play into the

hands of imperialism. These conflicts, as the experiences of the Soviet Union had shown, were a reflection of the class struggle carried on, in the transition period from capitalism to socialism, over deciding the question of "Who - whom?" The SED took account of this interconnection between alliance policy and class struggle by supporting the progressive forces in the allied parties in their struggle against reactionary politicians and by consistently differentiating between enemies of social progress and those members of non-proletarian classes and strata who needed more time to get rid of obsolete ideas and attitudes.

In all historic phases since the Great Socialist October Revolution, the Soviet Union has been the pioneer of the progress of mankind. The Soviet people under the leadership by the CPSU was the first to have managed the problems in the transition from capitalism to socialism and in shaping the developed socialist society. Today it is ahead of mankind on the way to communism. By its experiences gained and generalized thereby, the CPSU has made the main contribution to the enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory. The historic experiences of the Soviet people and the CPSU, Comrade Erich Honecker has stated, "are inevitably gaining in importance and general validity to the extent that the Soviet Union continues its advance toward communism."¹¹

The gigantic changes that have taken place in the world since the Red October -- including the birth and growth of the GDR -- irrefutably prove the universal validity of the principles of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction which Marx, Engels and Lenin discovered and which were first applied in practice in the October Revolution.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Appeal for the 60th Anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 February 1977.
2. Erich Honecker, "On a Secure Course," EINHEIT, No 4, 1976, p 412.
3. V. I. Lenin, "The 'Left Wing Radicalism,' the Infantile Disorder in Communism," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, pp 5-6.
4. V. I. Lenin, "How to Organize the Competition," "Werke," Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 412.
5. Y. A. Krasin, "The Dialectic of the General and the Particular in the Revolutionary Process," THE WORKERS CLASS AND THE WORLD OF TODAY (in Russian), Moscow, No 2, 1972, p 25; see also N. V. Pilipenko, "General Inevitabilities in the Construction of Socialism and the Particulars in Their Manifestations in the Various Countries," EINHEIT, No 5, 1973, pp 532 and 535.

6. L. I. Brezhnev, "CPSU Central Committee Status Report to the 24th CPSU Congress," APN publishing house/Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1971, p 10.
7. Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 408.
8. Erich Honecker, "The Treasure of Historic Experiences of Lenin's Party," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 26/27 February 1977.
9. "Appeal for the 60th Anniversary . . .," loc. cit.
10. V. I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," "Werke," Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 425.
11. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 5. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Fifth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 10.

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EAST GERMANY

TRADITION OF GERMAN SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM REVIEWED

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[Article by Prof Dr Walter Wimmer, deputy department head, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee: "Our Socialist Fatherland--The People's Work and Pride." For related information see the following JPRS issues of this series: 69458, 20 Jul 77, No 1420, pp 50-61; 69293, 22 Jun 77, No 1404, pp 140-151; and 68403, 27 Dec 76, No 1336, pp 17-38]

[Text] As GDR history has proven, the liberation of the people by the workers class produces a qualitatively new patriotism: socialist patriotism. This by itself, yet in inseparable unity with proletarian internationalism, is a strong source for the blossoming of the socialist fatherland. Our party, therefore, pays great attention to deepening the awareness of it. Solving this extensive ideological task implies the confrontation with bourgeois nationalism. In this the SED can rely on the great patriotic tradition of the revolutionary German workers movement.

The epoch of struggle "for the peoples' liberation from imperialism, the elimination of war among the peoples, the overthrow of capitalist rule, and socialism"¹ which was initiated with the Great Socialist October Revolution has produced unprecedented revolutionary creativity among the people's masses. This was most impressively demonstrated by the people of the Soviet country. Its heroic history, its victories in struggle and in labor, inseparably linked with the leading and guiding activity of the communist party, demonstrate for all to see the strength of a people that has fought for its freedom, the strength of the idea that has caught the masses, the idea of socialism, the strength of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism inspiring a people that has achieved a socialist fatherland.

Other peoples have followed the example of the Soviet people, ours among them. The history of its struggle confirms what has here been said. "Our socialist state of the workers and farmers, the GDR, is in the truest sense of the word the work of the people."²

Harshly defied from the very first day by the forces that wanted to restore German imperialism and, relying on their foreign allies and their enormous resources, sought to prevent the establishing of a German workers and farmers state at any cost, economically hurt without pity for many years by FRG imperialism, living on an open border with the capitalist world for over a decade and therefore exposed to all conceivable interference, time and again a target of imperialist provocations and plans of aggression, subjected to discrimination in the international arena by blackmail pressure from the FRG and from NATO for approximately a quarter of a century, the GDR people, under the leadership by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, has always stood in loyalty to its state. An important source of strength in this has been the vital fraternal solidarity we have received from friendly socialist countries, mainly from the Soviet Union.

As the result of strenuous efforts and class conflicts with the imperialist adversary, our state has come to blossom, and our people has shown what socialism is capable of achieving. GDR experience has confirmed that establishing the political power of the workers class and the people's liberation from capitalism at once also produce a qualitatively new type of patriotism, socialist patriotism which -- in inseparable unity with proletarian internationalism -- implies the love and loyalty for our socialist fatherland and for the cause of socialism and communism everywhere in the world, the main force of which is the Soviet Union.

A Clear Task

The GDR working people are shaping the developed socialist society for the sake of the constant enrichment of their own lives, whereby they are making an important contribution to strengthening socialism in the world and to supporting all fighters for social progress. With their brains they are creating ideas, and with the skill of their hands they are forming their socialist fatherland and are strengthening the socialist community of states and so are adding to the treasure of experiences of real socialism which provides "the model of the most just organization of society in the interest of the working people."³

That calls, time and again, for new efforts, deliberations, strength in decision-making, and tenacity. It calls for the will and the strength to cope with difficulties, natural as they are. For there is no smooth pavement on the road on which the new society is constructed. Problems must be solved, difficulties and contradictions must be overcome through purposeful and willing actions. This gives rise to high demands for the party's ideological work. It must aim at ever better enabling the working people in handling all social relations in the interest of steadily improving the people's material and intellectual-cultural standard of living, in that it will supply them with an ever deeper understanding of the inevitabilities and conditions in these developments, and with socialist convictions and motivation. "It is important to carry on political mass activity," Comrade Erich Honecker has said, "which, in the sense of the Ninth Party

Congress decisions, will help the working people in handling, consciously and creatively, the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, in handling their own existence, and will make the developed socialist society in the GDR ever more perfect and richer, whereby they will prepare our communist future and, by strengthening socialism, actively advance the revolutionary change in the world."⁴

An important element in this political mass activity -- not one task among others but an indispensable component of its content and goal -- lies in disseminating and deepening socialist patriotism in its unity with proletarian internationalism. That conscious and creative approach to shaping the existence of the people with a view to the present and the future and in responsibility to the progress of the world, of which Comrade Erich Honecker spoke -- it is also given substance by the concept of socialist patriotism.

Socialist Patriotism and Political-ideological Work

High demands are made on our ideological work for more deeply shaping the new, socialist national consciousness which is developing with the emergence of the socialist nation in the GDR. Our party can look back at great successes in this. That should be all the more appreciated as this happened in a part of the world where, by the abuse of the exploiter class, the national sentiment of the people was more strongly corrupted and patriotism was more perverted than anywhere else. "The GDR citizen is distinguished by deep love for his socialist fatherland and close solidarity with all progressive forces in the world. Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism exist in unity for us. Deprecating the national is as alien to us as is arrogance when looking at other nations and at people with different skin color."⁵

As consequence of our party's ideological activities, the GDR people has, for once and for all, rebuffed the bourgeois presumption that the working people ought to subject itself forever to capitalist rule in the bourgeois nation, as much as it has rejected the chauvinism and national arrogance typical of the exploiter classes in Germany. Socialist patriotism is consolidating and developing in the GDR; it mainly expresses itself in social relations. "The social order determines the content of patriotism. Socialist patriotism grows out of the socialist mode of production which, by abolishing the exploitation of man by man, by liquidating the capitalist class, also uproots the wolfish laws of capitalism in its people."⁶

Socialist patriotism finds an essential source in the pride of the working people in their own achievements, their own as well as those the previous generations left behind. It is the awareness of the obligation one has to those struggles that had to be fought so that ultimately conditions of dignified human life could be created in this country, and the obligation to the sacrifices that had been necessary for it. This is an identification with the socialist nation, its past, present and future, with the experiences and concerns of the people. Socialist patriotism -- the love of the people

for their fatherland, now fully justified because there is justice in this fatherland now, because in this fatherland the people itself exercises the power. This is a historically new stage in working class support for the fatherland; it became possible by its seizure of power.

Socialist patriotism is informed with the national experience that imperialism brings destruction for the people and shame for the fatherland but socialism, secure living and happiness for the people, national efflorescence, truly internationalist community, friendship, and close cooperation and rapprochement with the fraternal peoples. "Generally speaking, through our country's development and the results of the social changes in the awareness of people, an important contribution has been made to answering the question that is of more crucial urgency in the world of today than ever: Which order makes possible the blossoming of one's own nation and insures prosperous fellowship with the other nations?"⁷

Socialist patriotism thus is growing from objective foundations in the life of the people and from direct experience. Yet socialist patriotism does not generate out of itself, does not automatically become a motive for action. It is the product of the party's ideological activities which make all this conscious. Fostering and spreading socialist patriotism is a worthwhile and indispensable task, for socialist patriotism is one of the strongest impulses for socialist action.

Concrete Direction

The further deepening of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism is among the most important political-ideological tasks of the SED. The great tasks we expect of us because they are dictated by the interests of the working people, the obvious possibilities for contributing, together with the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, to the promotion of progress in the world, and the need for stronger ideological confrontation with imperialism insistently demand this of us.

The SED Central Committee Politburo resolution on "the further tasks for the party's political mass activities" presents a concrete guideline for how to solve this many-sided and complex task. Promoting the pride in our socialist fatherland requires that we "present the birth and growth of our socialist GDR as the outcome of strenuous efforts, harsh class battles and hard-won victories over the enemies of the working people."⁸ Nothing fell into our lap. Nothing was merely handed us by our class enemy. Everything we enjoy today, everything that makes life in our fatherland so worth living, has been the reward of great exertions. The working people's liberation with all its attributes -- freedom from exploitation, secure jobs, equal wages for equal work, the possibilities arising for more and more working people to work creatively and carry responsibilities, and so forth -- is all the more dear to the working people the more aware they are that this cannot be taken for granted but that for having it, first capitalism had to be eliminated through tough and protracted struggle. The people's political freedom with

all its elements -- socialist democracy, the right to participate in government and so forth -- is all the more valuable to the citizen the more he becomes aware that things have not always been that way but that for it, the bourgeois state first had to be destroyed and our own state, against harsh resistance of not only German but international imperialism, had to be created and made strong. And that is the way it has been with all our achievements.

Developing socialist national consciousness requires, as the resolution states, "explaining the class character of our workers and farmers state which means freedom and democracy for the working people, not however for its enemies."⁹ The willingness to act patriotically will be all the stronger, the more clearly and deeply the citizen gains insight into the conditions under which the working people are enjoying their freedom and social justice and can practice live democracy. These conditions, first and foremost, lie in the political power of the workers and farmers and their firm rooting within the community of states of an identical class character. It guarantees the people all its rights and prevents enemies of socialism from undermining them. Working people will all the more consciously engage themselves in strengthening their state, the clearer it becomes to them that this really is their state, which protects the achievements of the people against all attacks, and the more aware they become that only the socialist state insures freedom and rights for the people, not in words, but by deeds.

Spreading socialist patriotism requires "turning the achievements and deeds of the heroes of work and the defense of our workers and farmers power for succeeding generations, for our youth, into a living tradition."¹⁰ Every new generation will identify itself all the more easily with its socialist fatherland, the closer the ties are that it finds with its own history, and the more vivid and familiar we can make for youth the achievements of the founders of our state, the builders of socialism in the GDR, the steadfastness of those who have been defending our republic against all hostilities and direct attacks. The young generation will all the more actively contribute to the strengthening of its socialist fatherland, the more consciously it perceives itself to be the ones who carry on the work of the older generations, the more examples that are to be repeated inform their deeds.

Fostering the awareness of the process of growth and the prospects of the socialist German nation also requires "to illuminate that we are the executors of the ideas and intentions of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, and that our socialist republic has emerged from the struggles and sacrifices of the German workers movement, the Communist League, the revolutionary German social democracy, the KPD and the SED."¹¹ He will act all the more effectively as a patriot of his socialist fatherland, who thinks of himself as a combatant for the cause of socialism, as participant in the great process of the liberation of mankind by the working class from suppression and exploitation. He will all the more readily commit himself to working on behalf of his socialist fatherland, the more clearly he realizes that here the ideals of socialism are brought to realization for which generations of proletarian fighters spent their strength and their lives.

Fostering socialist patriotism implies "cultivating everywhere in the GDR, deliberately and without any narrow-mindedness, all revolutionary, democratic and humanistic traditions of the German people, which have found among us a permanent homestead and their continuation."¹² We and only we are the heirs to everything progressive in German history. For the great contribution the German people has made to the progress of mankind and its culture had still to be purified by those who led Socialism to victory on German soil and cleansed of the reactionary, chauvinistic and anti-human dirt by which the ruling classes had always been obscuring it. To make that clear helps root the socialist GDR deeply, and deeply felt by the citizens, in the history of the German people, helps make that come to the fore as the greatest achievement of the working people's struggles and make use of everything valuable in the past for today's struggle on behalf of our people's happy future.

A Great Tradition

There lies a great tradition per se in the patriotism and internationalism of the GDR citizens: the tradition of the patriotic and internationalist activities of the German workers class, of the struggle of the revolutionary German workers movement -- and of progressive forces in previous centuries -- for a fatherland for the people, for a Germany of freedom and human dignity in a world of peace, for a socialist Germany fraternally allied with the Soviet Union. The whole history of the struggle of the working German people for progress, and especially of the proletarian class struggle, is a single proof for that those who continued this work, the creative people of the GDR under the leadership by their Marxist-Leninist party, are the custodians of a great patriotic tradition.

One may take any phase from the history of the German people, and it will be confirmed. What exactly happened in the 1848/49 revolution? The bourgeoisie assisted in bending Germany under the yoke of aristocratic reaction, while the working people, mainly the members of the young workers class, stood up for the freedom of the people on the barricades, and the most resolute revolutionaries, the members of the Communist League, raised their demands for a democratic German republic. A true fatherland for the people was demanded by the KPD demands authored by Marx and Engels: All these demands aimed at "providing the millions who thus far had been exploited in Germany by a few, and whom the few will seek to keep under suppression, with their right and with the kind of power that is their due as the producers of all wealth."¹³

Or, who were the real patriots in 1871? The ruling classes who were seeking to enlarge Germany territorially by annexing Alsace-Lorraine, a chauvinistic and rapacious act that could not but impose a course toward a future world war upon the country? No, it was August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht and their comrades, who raised flaming protests against this rapacious and militaristic and hence, anti-national, policy of the German Empire thus created through blood and iron. For that they accepted the fate that was normal for patriots in capitalist Germany: the dungeon.

It was no different in World War I. Karl Liebknecht preserved the dignity of the German people by saying no to the predatory war and publicly stating the main enemy of the German people was not beyond the borders but in its own country: German imperialism and militarism. Their exponents threw exemplary patriots and internationalists into the penitentiary and called them traitors, so that the armaments monopolies, the generals and their henchmen from the camp of opportunism could go on all the more smoothly betraying the country and the people and sacrificing millions of lives to the dream of world domination by German imperialism.

Without embarrassment by the fury and strength of his enemies, Karl Liebknecht, facing his judges, represented the standpoint of proletarian internationalism and patriotism with brilliant trenchancy. This is what he threw into the face of the class court: "In its social and historic essence, the German government is an instrument for the suppression and exploitation of the working masses. Internally and externally it serves the interests of the junkers, of capitalism and imperialism. . . . Sharpest struggle, class struggle against the government (is) the duty of every socialist, of every representative of proletarian interests. . . . He fights in the name of the international proletariat against international capitalism. He will seize it wherever he can find and successfully hit it. That is: in his own country."¹⁴ And Karl Liebknecht became the plaintiff: "And if we are to speak here of high treason, one should remember this: High treason has, forever and anon, been the privilege of the ruling classes, the princes and the nobles; it is one of their loftiest historical tradition."¹⁵

The party to the founding of which Karl Liebknecht could still make so many outstanding contributions before those traitors brutally murdered him, the KPD, then continued, in its struggle for a fatherland for the people, the great tradition of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, August Bebel and Karl Liebknecht. It fought for the social and national liberation of the German people and against the resurgence of German imperialism, for the defense against fascist danger through a united front of all antifascist and patriotic forces. It fought against the consequences of the Versailles peace by Diktat, but in the way it is right for real patriots and internationalists: against imperialism as its cause and, above all, against the internal enemy.

The German communists have always let themselves be guided by the interests of the working people, its right to freedom, work, bread and peace, to a fatherland belonging to it. At a time when nationalistic agitation drove more and more persons into the arms of fascism, late in October 1932, Ernst Thaelmann went to Paris to demonstrate his dedication, together with the French comrades at an event sponsored by the fraternal French party, to proletarian internationalism, to workers' solidarity in the struggle for social liberty, and against chauvinism. Having returned to Berlin, he protested at a mass demonstration in the sports palace against the chauvinism of the German fascists and their capitalist entrepreneurs as follows: "Can this be a fatherland as long as, in Germany, a few capitalists suppress, torture and exploit millions of workers and working people? Can this be a

fatherland when thousands of technicians, engineers and other intellectuals lie in the streets unemployed with the mass of proletarians by the millions? But we communists know this: Millions . . . will join our revolutionary struggle, our struggle for freedom, for a real and socialist fatherland."¹⁶ A few weeks later the KPD chairman declared at the Berlin Bezirk KPD Congress with the same resolution: "Only when we have socialism in Germany will the needy and suppressed have a fatherland, a fatherland that belongs to us."¹⁷

It still took many years for that prospect to be turned into reality, through the founding of our republic. In-between were the bitter years of fascism when the exploiter class in Germany pushed its antinational policy to extremes and also, consequently, defied in the most barbaric fashion all patriotic aspirations. Still, even then the communists and other antifascist fighters along with them proved upstanding patriots and steadfast internationalists. Wherever they were -- in illegality or in dungeons, on the battlefields of Spain, later on the side of the partisans in the countries occupied by fascist German imperialism, in the ranks of the spies sent against the fascist war machine, on the side of the Red Army or wherever -- they would prove themselves fighters for a free Germany, as preservers of the German people's reputation that had been so defiled by the fascists. They would remain loyal to the people's claim to a free fatherland, with tens of thousands sacrificing their lives for it, the KPD leader, Ernst Thaelmann, among them. The heroic course of struggle by the revolutionary German workers movement ended in the creation of the GDR. With that, the old goal became reality: a socialist fatherland.

Our cultivating the great tradition established that way is more than merely homage to those patriots who have fought for it in past decades and centuries, seeking to turn Germany into a true homestead for its diligent and intelligent working people. The preservation of this tradition is directly effective in strengthening the socialist patriotism of the current generation. And it offers us, furthermore, a wealth of deep thoughts and convincing arguments for putting the ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism into the minds and hearts of the people.

Socialist Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism spring from one and the same source, the class interests and class aims of the workers class, and thus they are organically united, are forming a dialectical unity. This means: In our love and loyalty to our socialist fatherland we include the love and loyalty to the cause of socialism and communism all over the world, our ever closer affiliation with the peoples of the socialist community of states and the joint protection of our socialist achievements, as much as the solidarity with all working people fighting against imperialist exploitation and suppression and the peoples fighting for their national liberation. And our relations with other peoples are marked by the spirit of mutual respect, friendship and cooperation. In this sense the GDR is working as a firm component of the

socialist community of states, and we are acting, above all, in full realization that the alliance with Lenin's country and party conforms to our people's vital interests, that the touchstone for our internationalist stance is and remains our fraternal solidarity with Lenin's country. The spreading of socialist patriotism therefore also always includes constant confrontation with bourgeois nationalism, for it remains one of the ideological weapons imperialism prefers to use in its struggle against the workers movement and against real socialism.

It is important for that reason always to take into account in our ideological work what was emphasized by the great German revolutionary, the upright internationalist and passionate patriot Clara Zetkin, in many of her works: "The concepts 'fatherland' and 'national state' are diametrically opposed in content and meaning as between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat."¹⁸ This is as true today as it was then, in 1923. And this has to be taken to heart more than ever because the spokesmen of imperialism in the FRG are indefatigable in reiterating the false thesis of an allegedly eternal community of destiny and intent, from which they then -- by contending that such a nation of Germany continues to exist -- derive aggressive consequences vis-a-vis the GDR. In taking issue with such notions we have to demonstrate "that, in substance, a nation is not principally determined by subjective, emotional and psychological factors, but by objective-material, economic, social and political ones."¹⁹

Socialist patriotism does not amount to an attitude in contemplation. A socialist patriot feels responsible for his fatherland's well-being. The socialist fatherland has been won through struggle. Further developing its advantages requires incessant efforts -- efforts from which the people themselves benefit. "That means, above all, investing all capabilities and abilities in the fulfillment of the main task, in further improving our people's material and cultural standard of living; strengthening our socialist fatherland, the GDR, in all domains; deepening our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and rooting our country still more firmly within the socialist community of states; actively participating in the struggle against imperialism and for the safeguarding of peace and the revolutionary renovation of the world; and always acting on behalf of international solidarity."²⁰

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the Unveiling of a Memorial Plaque for the Fighters of the October Revolution," "Werke" (Works), Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 162.
2. Erich Honecker, "The Time We Live In, and the Demands It Makes," "Die weiteren Aufgaben der politischen Massenarbeit der Partei" (The Further Tasks in the Party's Political Mass Activities), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 9.
3. "For the 60th Anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 February 1977.

4. Erich Honecker, op. cit., pp 9-10.
5. "The Further Tasks in the Party's Political Mass Activities--SED Central Committee Politburo Resolution of 18 May 1977," "Die weiteren Aufgaben . . .," loc. cit., p 72.
6. Hermann Axen, "On the Development of the Socialist Nation in the GDR," "Sozialismus und revolutionaerer Weltprozess" (Socialism and the Revolutionary World Process), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 300.
7. Werner Lamberz, "Party and People in Confident Dialogue," "Die weiteren Aufgaben . . .," loc. cit, p 44.
8. "Die weiteren Aufgaben . . .," loc. cit., p 73.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "KPD Demands," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, pp 4-5.
14. "Karl Liebknecht's Conviction," Karl Liebknecht, "Gesammelte Reden und Schriften" (Collected Speeches and Essays), Vol. IX, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1971, pp 12-16.
15. Ibid., p 22.
16. Ernst Thaelmann, "Internationalism in Deeds," Ernst Thaelmann, "Ueber proletarischen Internationalismus" (On Proletarian Internationalism), Philipp Reclam jun. publishing house, Leipzig, 1977, p 179.
17. IML/ZPA 32/336.
18. Clara Zetkin, "On Germany's Right to National Existence," Clara Zetkin, "Ausgewaehlte Schriften" (Selected Essays), Vol II, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 657.
19. Kurt Hager, "Der IX. Parteitag und die Gesellschaftswissenschaften" (The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 50.
20. "Appeal for the 60th Anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 February 1977.

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EAST GERMANY

SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS PREREQUISITE FOR CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNISM

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[Article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Schneider, deputy director, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; head, department of Scientific Communism; member, EINHEIT editorial board: "On the Characteristics of the Developed Socialist Society"]

[Text] The Ninth SED Congress has issued the target of continuing in the GDR in shaping the developed socialist society, whereby to create fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. This introduces a new phase of social development in the GDR.

The shaping of the developed socialist society -- as the SED program states -- is a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes. The realization and implementation of the necessary interrelations among the various sides and areas of public life to a growing extent decide how all the material, socioeconomic and political-ideological prerequisites can be created "for achieving the purpose of socialism to do everything for the good of the people and the interests of the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people, at an ever higher level. In accordance with the basic economic law of socialism, the main task in the shaping of the developed socialist society lies in further improving the people's material and cultural standard of living, based on a high tempo of development in socialist production, greater efficiency, scientific-technical progress, and growth in labor productivity."¹

This entails a task of immediate practical importance to the political leadership activity of the party, to the work by every communist and his power of political and ideological conviction. The Central Committee report to the Ninth SED Congress states: "The increasing interlinking of social processes and the need for proportionate development raise on all levels the demands made on complex party leadership activity. When we say that labor has to be managed in a complex fashion we mean a management style that takes account

of all the interconnections and combines practical everyday work with the long-range tasks. That calls for increasing collectivity that will positively include a full personal responsibility."²

Politically guiding the development of all sides and domains of public life requires especially a deep understanding of the essential characteristics and criteria formulated in the 10 points of the SED program of the developed socialist society and their internal interconnection, in as much as they express the scientific insight and generalization of the really existing and always newly to be realized interrelations among all spheres of public life.

It is of particular importance to make visible through our political-ideological work these interrelations, these internal connections among the fundamental social processes -- conceived of in their dialectics through the characteristics and criteria of the developed socialist society. After all, shaping the developed socialist society means "developing systematically at a high level" all advantages and impulses, all sides and spheres of public life, "the productive forces and the production relations, the social and political relations, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, the totality of working and living conditions as well as national defense."³

Making visible the internal connection among the characteristics and criteria of developed socialism requires, for one thing, comprehending the objective condition for the increasing interlinking within the socialist economy and among the various social domains and, with it, realizing for what purpose and what kind of social content the political management of this process is undertaken.

As the materialist conception of history Marx and Engels have taught us reveals, the mode of production in material life determines the social, political and intellectual life process of society. The given production relations determine the structure, development and, hence, the goal of production in any given form of society. The production objective in socialism -- "insuring the highest well-being and free all round development of all members of society"⁴ -- results from its public ownership in the means of production. The realization of this goal becomes possible only once capitalist private property, due to the developmental requirements of the productive forces, has been overcome and the working people, under the leadership of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, exercises the political power. In the creation of these objective conditions for the all round development of all productive forces of society, especially of all round personality development, lies the essential side of the historic superiority of socialism, the source of its advantages and values.

The objective of socialist production also controls the trend in the development of all other areas of public life. That is why in describing developed socialism the main point is the connection between the meaning of socialism, the basic economic law and the main task. The meaning of socialism, to do everything for the good of the people, informs all subsequent characteristics and criteria of developed socialist society as formulated in the SED program.

In their totality they also constitute the necessary conditions for meeting the purpose of socialism at an ever higher level -- in the unity of economic and social policy. The full maturation of every side, of every aspect of social development, therefore, calls for recognizing these characteristics in their dialectical unity as an organic whole of social processes and for bringing them to realization by producing the most effective interrelations among them. The main instrument the working people, led by the workers class, have for solving these tasks is the socialist state of the workers and farmers, a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the interests of the entire people.

Economic and Overall Social Progress

For the successful solution of all essential tasks in shaping the developed socialist society -- so it is emphasized in our party documents -- a strong and capable material-technical base is of extraordinary importance. On its level depends the economic capability of the GDR and thus, the advancement for the development of our socialist society in all its spheres.

The 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan must develop the material-technical base so that it will make possible stable economic growth, great labor productivity and efficiency in social labor, in order that it will ever more perfectly conform to the requirements of the developed socialist society and that the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism emerge more and more. The realization of this requirement will further advance the socialization of labor and production which is -- as the founders of Marxism-Leninism have explained -- the decisive material source for the further development and consolidation of socialism.

The main route for the further development of the material-technical base of our national economy, and thus for increasing its capability, is the intensification of social production. Through making all intensification factors fully effective -- mainly, as the chief factor, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress -- the unity of economic and social policy will still more perceptibly be brought to realization for everyone. It is, after all, principally the improvement of economic achievement that determines how much further the tempo and scope of the people's material and intellectual-cultural standard of living -- with all its extra foreign trade burdens -- can be raised. Characteristic of the process that shapes the developed socialist society is that especially the interrelations between economic and sociopolitical development are becoming ever closer.

Thus the creation of a strong and efficient material-technical base has a fundamental effect on the solution of the social tasks. For overall social progress it is at the same time, for instance, of great importance that under socialist conditions the further development of the material-technical base goes hand in hand with surmounting the essential differences between physical and mental work through making the content of labor more progressive and formative in terms of personality, through reducing heavy physical labor

with all its health hazards, and through increasing enrichment of labor by intellectual-creative elements. This process is marked -- as a fundamental feature of the socialist production relations -- by mutual aid and the comradely support and cooperation among the working people and the labor collectives, which are on an increase and are conditioning the social relations among people, their thoughts and motives for action in the labor process and in other domains of public life.

The further development of the material-technical base furthermore is closely connected with the processes that are essential for the full maturation of all sides and spheres of public life, such as the surmounting of the essential differences between town and countryside, a higher degree of training and education for the working people, the perfecting and further shaping of socialist democracy, and the rapprochement among the classes and strata. Recognizing this internal connection among the fundamental social developmental processes and effectively organizing that interconnection accordingly presents an important precondition for making all advantages and impulses of socialism fully effective, in order to make possible the full development of individual abilities and talents and the all round development of personality.

Growing Demands Placed on Consciousness

The more extensive and penetrating the change in social relations is, the greater the importance that attaches to the socialist modes of human thought and action, the greater becomes the role of the subjective factor. More than ever a deep ideological understanding of the party policy, serving the good of all the people, will see to it that the objective economic laws of socialism are still more effectively applied, as each individual, in conformity with the inevitabilities of social development, consciously approaches the solution of newly ripened tasks and, with a high sense of political responsibility and with great expertise, participates in the management and planning of social development. As it is stated in the Politburo resolution entitled "The further tasks of the party's political mass activities," the point therefore is in our political-ideological work to enable the working people to ever more perfectly and richly manage their own existence, consciously and creatively, and the developed socialist society, whereby they will prepare our communist future and propel, actively, by strengthening socialism, the revolutionary change in the world.⁵

With the development of our society and the growth of its potentials, any decision, and deed, assumes a greater importance for all of society. A social sense of responsibility thus proves a mighty lever for economic progress, a strong impulse for completely carrying out in life the great advantages that inhere in socialism. Consciousness, creativity, eagerness to perform, a socialist attitude toward work and social property, and discipline do not, however, grow automatically as the basic funds go up in value, investments reach a larger scope, and techniques and technology, a higher level. The greater demand placed on the further molding and reinforcement of socialist modes of thought and action is simultaneously a greater demand for the level

and effectiveness of political mass activities. The point here is effectively to disseminate Marxism-Leninism, the only world-outlook in the position to supply the valid answers to all questions of our times, and thus to cultivate further the great ideological maturation process in all classes and strata, anchoring the ideas of socialism more deeply in the working people's consciousness.

The priority in mass political work is to present the scientific party strategy and tactics for the shaping of the developed socialist society persuasively, reaching a full understanding by doing so for the outstanding importance science and technology have to the successful realization of our economic and social policy. The working people's thoughts and actions have to be oriented by the criteria set for that. It is necessary to create a social atmosphere everywhere in which initiative prospers, a sense of community reigns, work becomes pleasure, and the responsibility for the collective, the enterprise, the society can further develop. That is of fundamental importance to the successful solution of our economic and overall social tasks and to socialist personality development. Therein lies the reason why in socialism "the working people in a twofold sense occupy the center of all the efforts by the society and the state: everything is done on their behalf and everything is done through them, through their creative activities."⁶

This turning to the masses and their immediate interests and needs that has come into effect since the Eighth Party Congress is the reason why the struggle for scientific-technical progress has been significantly intensified and is being implemented as an all-inclusive social task. The knowledge and skill, the ideas and experiences of the workers, engineers and scientists will lead to important achievements principally when their insights into the great interconnections of our national economy, and into the reciprocities active among economics, politics and ideology, combine with an accurate knowledge of what their specific tasks are at their jobs. This still better enables the working people to concentrate their initiatives purposefully on the benefits they provide for the GDR and the other fraternal socialist countries in fulfillment of the five-year plan -- the party's and each basic organization's campaign program. It is precisely in the struggle for the implementation of the main task where the advantages and impulses of socialist society form ever more strongly, where higher demands are placed on the technical and political qualifications of the working people, where their sense of responsibility is heightened. To foster that process includes making everyone aware of the increasing ties and relations among the various enterprises and economic branches and among the CEMA countries -- where cooperation relations with the Soviet Union form the centerpiece -- in showing their importance to a successful development of the GDR as of the socialist community of states on the whole.

A higher level of education -- an indispensable prerequisite for human creativity -- is a basic element of socialist life. The scientific-technical revolution significantly increases the demands placed on knowledge, and the working people's intellectual-cultural needs are becoming greater in

number now and more varied as well. Socialist personality features are becoming ever more pronounced. "People with a sound education and firm in their ideological conviction," Comrade Erich Honecker has said in this connection, "people with broad intellectual horizons they are -- aware and energetic builders of the new world of socialism and communism."⁷

In the great and manifold initiatives of the GDR working people toward the fulfillment, and targeted overfulfillment, of the 1977 national economic plan, a high level of social responsibility expresses itself. This is the result of our party policy which provides the working people with the direction and goal for their deliberate and planned activities. Consolidating and reinforcing the socialist class consciousness of the working people, enabling them to shape the developed socialist society consciously, creatively, in accordance with objective laws, places new and higher requirements on the political management for all social processes by the Marxist-Leninist party. It is the most important factor, the party program says, in successfully shaping the society formed by the victorious revolutionary workers class.

Advancing with purpose and by example, ahead of the millions of builders of the new society, and mobilizing their energy, initiative, and creativity for the successful solution of the economic and overall social tasks -- therein the communists' purpose of struggle and of living finds its fulfillment. The basic concern of their political-ideological work is to equip the workers class and all working people with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to develop their socialist thinking, feeling and action, arouse their revolutionary energy and activity and arm them against any influences from imperialist and bourgeois ideology. This at the same time also encourages the full development of all the other characteristics of the developed socialist society such as the consolidation of the socialist state and legal order, the assurance of a reliable protection of peace and of the socialist achievements, and the steady strengthening and deepening of our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. In forming all the characteristics purposefully, in their reciprocal interlinking, we are creating all the conditions "for the social relations and physical and intellectual abilities of men to be able to fully develop, and all possibilities arise for them to give content and culture to their lives, in that the working people's thoughts and actions are molded by the socialist ideology, the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook of the workers class."⁸

By analyzing their experiences in the construction of socialism, through a joint theoretical effort, the communist parties of the fraternal socialist countries have proven developed socialism to be a necessary and inevitable stage on the road to communism. These insights into the developed socialist society confirm and enrich Lenin's projection that communism can develop only after socialism, "the first form of the new society," has been fully consolidated.⁹ The Ninth SED Congress documents deepen the scientific understanding of the general characteristics of the communist form of society, of the inevitabilities in the stage of developed socialism and thus, the dialectics of socialism and communism.

Socialism is the primary phase of integrated communist society. The experiences of the communist parties in the socialist countries demonstrate that one cannot, after the triumph of socialist production relations, proceed at once toward the construction of communism but that a lengthy interval is needed for the all round development of the productive forces and social relations and for the further shaping of socialist consciousness. With the shaping of the developed socialist society the decisive steps are taken in the economic, political and ideological field for fully developing the advantages and impulses of socialist society, thereby insuring a higher level of development for the productive forces and obtaining a higher degree of maturity in the socialist production relations, the social relations and social consciousness.

This simultaneously creates the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. Every advance in the shaping of our material-technical base, in the rapprochement among the classes and strata, in the formation of all round developed socialist personalities and in the perfecting of the socialist way of life thus also is a step toward shaping the characteristics of the developed socialist society and simultaneously -- as there are no rigid boundaries between socialism and communism -- a step through which the preconditions are laid for the gradual transition to the second and higher phase of communist society.

The successes achieved in our republic, mainly through our rigorous struggle for the implementation of the main task, in the economic, political, social and intellectual-cultural fields constitute a sound basis for our assuming -- in accordance with the Ninth Party Congress decisions -- the tasks of the present with an eye to the future, our great goal of communist society. We derive our guarantee for a continuing success in social progress from the steady strengthening of the socialist states, the deepening of their cooperation and their resolute and constructive policy on safeguarding peace and enforcing peaceful coexistence. The main force and pioneer on the road to communism is the Soviet Union. The USSR draft constitution states: "The developed socialist society has been constructed in the USSR. In this phase, when socialism already develops on its own basis, the creative capacities of the new order and the advantages of the socialist way of life are becoming ever more pronounced and the working people are using more and more extensively the fruits of the great revolutionary achievements."¹⁰

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 19-20.
2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 125-126.

3. "Programm . . .," loc. cit., p 19.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Remarks on Plekhanov's Second Draft Program," "Werke" (Works), Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1956, p 40.
5. Cf. "Die weiteren Aufgaben der politischen Massenarbeit der Partei, Beschluss des Politbueros des Zentralkomitees der SED vom 18. Mai 1977" (The Further Tasks in Party Political Mass Activities--SED Central Committee Politburo Decision of 18 May 1977), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1977, pp 66-67.
6. Kurt Hager, "Der IX. Parteitag und die Gesellschaftswissenschaften" (The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 15.
7. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 90.
8. "Programm . . .," loc. cit., p 22.
9. V. I. Lenin, "Speech about the Subbotniks at the Moscow City Conference of the CPR(B)," "Werke," Vol 30, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 274.
10. "USSR Draft Constitution," PRESSE DER SOWJETUNION, No 24, 1977, p 1.

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EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 9, Sep 77 signed to press 12 Aug 77
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Capitalist Exploitation Today

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans Tammer, department head in GDR
Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW); pp 1018-1027]

[Text] Imperialism is deeply anti-human because it rests on an inhuman basis, that of the exploitation of man by man. Proceeding from Karl Marx's scientific disclosure of the "secret" in capitalist profiteering, it is being shown that, in connection with scientific-technical development and the comprehensive formation of state monopoly capitalism, the scope and degree of exploitation are broadened in the production process. U.S. examples and precise computations of the rate of surplus value in the FRG indicate the steady intensification of capitalist exploitation.

Political Power Mechanism Against People's Interests

[Summary of article by Dr Ekkehard Lieberam, research group head in Institute
for State and Law Theory, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 1028-1035]

[Text] The political power mechanism in the imperialist countries is marked by the fusion between the power of the monopolies and that of the state. If at present the monopoly bourgeoisie is making greater efforts at hiding the anti-popular nature of this mechanism, it is part of its desire to blur class frontlines, cover up the destruction of democratic rights and "integrate" the people's masses by combining "finer" manipulation methods with undisguised anti-democratic government practices in such a way that they will continue to subordinate themselves to monopoly rule even when class contradictions sharpen further.

Social Injustice and Insecurity as a System

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Ernst Haak, director, Department for Political Economy of Capitalism, and Dr Horst Hemberger, professor in the department, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; pp 1045-1051]

[Text] The imperialist prophesies of an era of social justice and security approaching have been shipwrecked -- and this, inevitably so, for a system based on the capitalist ownership in the means of production and thus, on the exploitation of man by man, is of necessity deeply inhuman. Nor can the attempts at turning scientific-technical development into the scapegoat for the inhumanity in the world of monopoly capitalism disguise in the long run that social justice and security require our getting beyond the exploiter system.

NATO's Psychological Warfare--A Threat to Peace and Security

[Summary of article by Dr Dieter Langer, colonel, National People's Army (NVA); pp 1052-1059]

[Text] With their design of abusing, or even torpedoing, detente, the aggressive forces of imperialism, especially NATO, have for some time heated up their psychological warfare which, with its characteristic subversion and diversion, aims at meddling in the internal affairs of the peace-loving peoples, especially the countries of the socialist community of states, by abusing or openly infringing international law and in contradiction to existing treaties and accords, which always harbors the risks of military confrontation and worldwide conflicts.

Fraternal Alliance Between GDR and USSR--A Source of Strength for the Productive Capacity of Our National Economy

[Summary of article by Gerhard Schuerer, chairman, GDR State Planning Commission; pp 1060-1066]

[Text] In honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution it is shown that important successes have been achieved through the longtime fraternal cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in the ever closer interlinking between their national economies. With a view toward the years after 1980, the author deals with the common tasks in securing an energy and raw material base, the use of scientific-technical progress, intensification, specialization and cooperation.

Research and Technology for the Mutual Benefit of Our Countries

[Summary of article by Dr Herbert Weiz, member, SED Central Committee; deputy chairman, GDR Council of Ministers; minister for science and technology; pp 1067-1074]

[Text] Based on government agreements and ministerial accords, GDR-USSR scientific-technical cooperation helps both countries in the steady improvement of economic performance. In league with the leading power of science, the Soviet Union, and through our own great efforts, results are being achieved that affect the advanced international level. Research cooperation aims at important economic development tasks in our countries as well as, altogether, at deepening socialist economic integration.

Economic Effectiveness and Comprehensive Effect of Growth Factor

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, SED Central Committee candidate; director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED Central Committee; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1075-1085]

[Text] On the premise that the margin of our social policy depends on increased effectiveness, basic tasks for improving the input-output ratio in our national economy are treated. What will more rapidly enhance the end product? How can better achievements be reached through a lower input of resources? Is our national wealth used effectively enough? What are the reciprocal effects between the material and the nonmaterial sphere? The answers given to these questions are of a theoretical and practical nature.

Political Power of the Workers Class--The Basic Condition for Successful Socialist Construction (60th Anniversary of Lenin's Work 'State and Revolution')

[Summary of article by Dr Tord Riemann, law professor, Humboldt University, East Berlin; pp 1086-1093]

[Text] Written shortly before the October Revolution, "State and Revolution" contains the basic Marxist-Leninist statements on the nature of the state and democracy. SED experiences gained in the construction of socialism and the shaping of the developed socialist society confirm the general validity of the inevitabilities in socialist revolution as set down by Lenin, especially that of the need for establishing the political power of the workers class as a fundamental condition for real freedom and democracy for the working people.

Children's Literature and Communist Education

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Ingmar Dreher, dean (prorektor) of social sciences, Ernst Schneller Pedagogical College, Zwickau; pp 1111-1117]

[Text] The child as a growing personality, as a partner of the adult members of socialist society, is the addressee of our children's literature. The communist educational function of this literature amounts to an indispensable condition, therefore, for its spiritual wealth and multiple effects. A unity, therefore, exists between the ideological function of this literature, its contribution to forming a socialist consciousness of history, to the development of basic social sentiments and the formation of esthetic sensibility.

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ROMANIA

ASSEMBLY APPROVES NEW NATIONAL ANTHEM

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Oct 77 p 3 AU

[Text of "Law on the Endorsement of the New State Anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania," passed by the Grand National Assembly [GNA] at its 28 October session]

[Text] On the basis of Article 119 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the GNA of the Socialist Republic of Romania passes the present law:

Article 1

The National Anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania is endorsed.

Article 2

Orchestrations and musical arrangements of the National Anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania are allowed only with the approval of the state council.

Article 3

The National Anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania comes into force on the date of adoption of the present law.

Adopted text of the National Anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania, music by Ciprian Porumbescu.

I know three colors in this world,
Which bring to mind a dauntless people.
They're brave, and their renown is old,
And victory is theirs in battle.

Centuries uncounted
Our heroic ancestors fought;
Now we live as masters in the homeland,
As builders of the new world.

Red, yellow and blue
Are our colors;
Glorious as a star
Rises my people.

Closely united, working hard,
In the world we are a people
Free, of new repute
And daring aim.

Today the party unites us,
And on Romanian soil
Socialism is built
With workers' enthusiasm.

And you, proud Romania,
Forever may you live;
In the communist era,
As a star will you shine.

[Here follows an annotation of the music]

CSO: 2700

ASSEMBLY PASSES LAW ON FORMS OF ADDRESS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Oct 77 p 2 AU

[Text of "Law on Forms of Address Between the Citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania," passed at the 28 October Session of the Grand National Assembly]

[Text] In view of the profound socioeconomic changes that have occurred in our country within the process of building socialism, of the fact that the working people are at the same time owners of the means of production, producers and final users of everything that is achieved in our society and of the fact that a new type of relations--based on equality, cooperation and mutual esteem--has been established among all the citizens of the fatherland, man's oppression and exploitation by man having been eliminated once and for all, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania passes the present law:

Article 1

In their relations at their place of work or employment, in their contacts with economic and socio-cultural units, with administrative and other state bodies and with mass and civic organizations, the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania will use the [masculine or feminine] term "comrade."

The term "citizen" [masculine or feminine] can also be used as a form of address.

Article 2

To express the relationship between a socialist unit and the members of the working collective of the respective unit, or to designate the working collective of a unit, the term "working people" or "working personnel" will be used, and not "employees" or "wage-earners," regardless of the area or nature of work, or of the post or function occupied.

Article 3

The trade union, youth and women's organizations, and all other mass and civic organizations shall carry out intensive political-educational activities among all the fatherland's citizens to insure observance of the law.

The state bodies, educational and social-cultural institutions and all the socialist units are obligated to take measures to apply the provisions of this law to the letter.

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END